


THE WAR and THE FUTURE

By the Right Honourable
SIR ROBERT BORDEN



THE WAR AND THE FUTURE

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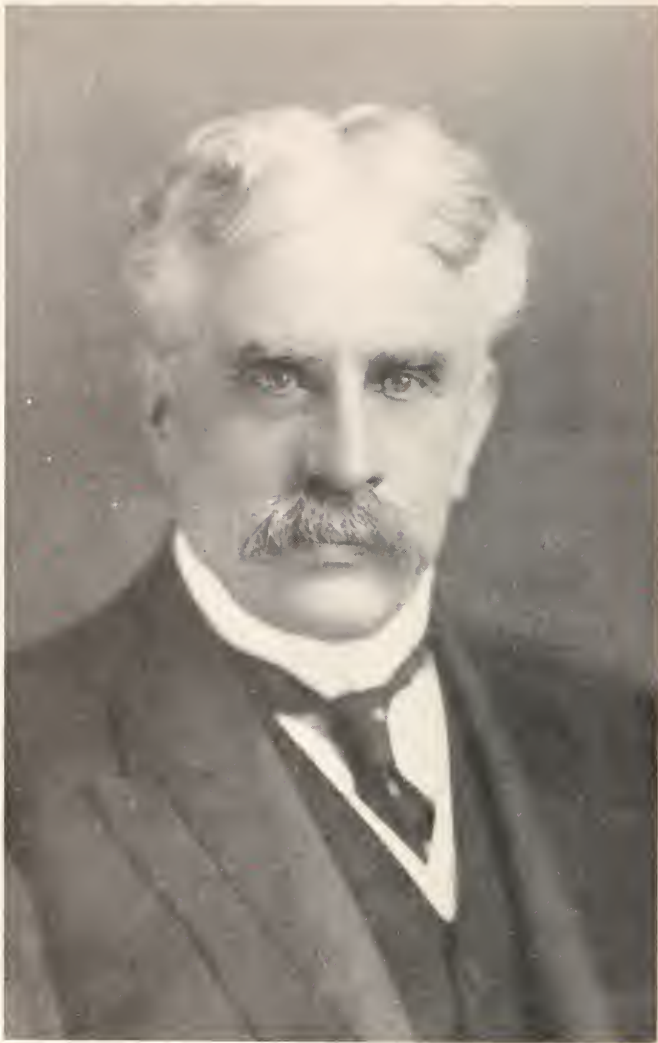


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THE WAR AND THE FUTURE

BY THE
RIGHT HON. SIR ROBERT BORDEN

G.C.M.G.

PRIME MINISTER OF THE DOMINION OF CANADA

BEING A NARRATIVE COMPILED FROM SPEECHES
DELIVERED AT VARIOUS PERIODS OF THE WAR
IN CANADA, THE UNITED STATES, AND GREAT
BRITAIN, WITH AN INTRODUCTORY LETTER TO

THE COMPILER, PERCY HURD

"As to our duty, all are agreed ; we stand shoulder to shoulder with Britain and the other British dominions in this quarrel. And that duty we shall not fail to fulfil as the honour of Canada demands. Not for love of battle, not for lust of conquest, not for greed of possessions, but for the cause of honour, to maintain solemn pledges, to uphold principles of liberty, to withstand forces that would convert the world into an armed camp ; yes, in the very name of the peace that we sought at any cost save that of dishonour, we have entered into this war ; and while gravely conscious of the tremendous issues involved, and of all the sacrifices that they may entail, we do not shrink from them, but with firm hearts we abide the event."

HODDER AND STOUGHTON

LONDON NEW YORK TORONTO

MCMXVII

INTRODUCTORY LETTER FROM SIR ROBERT BORDEN

Prime Minister's Office,
Ottawa, May 21st, 1917.

Dear Mr. Hurd,

As you have expressed your opinion—in which I place great confidence—that a narrative compiled from my war utterances would lead to a better understanding and appreciation of Canada's effort in this war and of the purpose which inspired that effort, I cannot withhold my assent to the enterprise you have undertaken.

As you remind me, many of these speeches have been addressed to audiences in Canada and the United States, and thus they constitute for British and Allied readers a presentation of facts which may contribute to a truer understanding of Canada's attitude and effort in this great struggle.

We have in Canada a somewhat mixed population, but during the three years of war the national purpose has been strongly main-

tained. I trust that by working together and fighting together for the ends of liberty Canadians of whatever origin will find new grounds of sympathy and national unity. Some of my speeches which you are bringing into your narrative were made in the United States, and that fact makes it fitting that I should express the profound satisfaction with which we as Canadians have seen the adhesion of our neighbours of the Republic to the common cause.

Believe me, dear Mr. Hurd,

Yours faithfully,



A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "R. D. Adams". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above a horizontal dashed line.

Percy Hurd, Esq.,
Hillside, Jackson's Lane,
Highgate, London, N.

NOTE BY THE COMPILER

SIR ROBERT BORDEN stands out among the King's Ministers overseas. He has been Prime Minister of Canada during the whole period of the War, and to his strenuous example and power of exposition is it largely due that Canada has throughout taken the rôle of pioneer among the younger nations of the Empire. Foreseeing the European storm, he set himself after assuming office in the autumn of 1911 to prepare Canada to take her proper place in the time of trouble. In submitting his naval proposals to the Canadian Parliament in December 1912, he said :—

“To-day, while the clouds are heavy and we hear the booming of the distant thunder and see the lightning flashes above the horizon, we cannot and we will not wait and deliberate until the impending storm is upon us in fury and with disaster.”

It was no fault of his that, when war came, Canada was not capable of a partnership on the seas as she has proved herself to be on land. To say more on that subject would be to enter upon matters of party controversy, and it has been one of the happiest accompaniments of Sir Robert Borden's war leadership that, despite the complex character of the Canadian population and the baffling and novel problems which war has brought, the two dominant political parties of Canada stand to-day staunchly in support of the Allied cause whatever the cost and sacrifice may prove to be.

Freedom from political partisanship is indeed a marked feature of the speeches from which this narrative of the war from Canada's standpoint has been compiled. The underlying causes of the War and the astonishing development of Canada's part in it, both as a military and industrial power, are traced with lawyer-like precision and statesmanlike penetration. We realise as we could not otherwise do, how quickly Canada saw the great issues of freedom which were at stake. Mr. Wilson has told the United States troops that it is on the field of war and in the trenches that "the real and final battle for the in-

dependence of the United States will be fought." Sir Robert Borden has made the great mass of the people of Canada also realise that it is in France and Flanders that Canada is completing her achievement of self-government and taking her place among the free partner nations of the British Commonwealth. Long before the War he warned us that Canada was not content to remain a mere adjunct of the British Empire. Under his sage guidance in these years of supreme trial Canada has proved her fitness for the new and larger destiny which this narrative foreshadows.

Foreshadows is the right word; for Sir Robert Borden is too experienced a British statesman to believe that the infinitely subtle and varied relations, the constitutional, economic and political elements, that go to make up the Dominion of Canada, and even more the Empire as a whole, can be adjusted off-hand according to any cut-and-dried formula. His day-to-day contact with the problems of Dominion nationhood had made clear to him the inadmissibility of schemes of Empire federalism, upon which men in high places both here and in Canada had set great store. Proposals for an Imperial Parlia-

ment representative of all self-governing parts of the Empire, and furnished with a centralised executive and exchequer, he declared to be "neither feasible nor wise." From South Africa came a similarly decisive negative. No Dominion will abandon or whittle away its control over its own taxation and internal affairs. But the closer association of the States of the Empire in defence, mutual commercial and other preferences, joint treaty relations with foreign countries, united efforts to encourage production and improve communications, and so on, requires a closer co-ordination of executive methods and more continuous and effective opportunities of consultation; and with Sir Robert Borden's cordial assent and co-operation, this requirement is in process of being met. He is content to move one step at a time, assured that the ultimate constitutional relations of the States of the Empire will grow out of existing conditions and immediate needs.

The necessities of war have confirmed the general lines of the economic partnership of the Empire which were first fashioned by Canada in 1897; and in the formation of the Imperial War Cabinet Sir Robert Borden sees the beginnings of a solution of the

Empire's gravest political problem. In pre-war times he had declared : " We are moving away from the day when the foreign relations of the Dominions as parts of the Empire can be left to be determined in a species of trust by which the statesmen of the Mother Country, perhaps more or less in consultation with us, can settle these policies ; " and he added : " Those whom these questions concern must always reckon with the inborn feeling in the Canadian breast that a British subject living in this Dominion must ultimately have as potent a voice in the government and the guidance of this world-wide Empire as the British subject living in the United Kingdom. Whether our home is in the British Islands or in Canada, we must be equals before the King. The full privileges, as well as the full duties and responsibilities, of citizenship are the right of the Canadian people."

These ends must be furthered by the new differentiation between Ministers of the King, here and overseas, whose functions are Imperial in their character and those whose functions are domestic. " Beside the Imperial War Cabinet, advising the Crown in matters of common Imperial concern, the British War Cabinet has been discharging

separately its distinctive functions in matters especially relating to the participation of the United Kingdom in the War." With this creation of an Imperial Cabinet and the development of the functions of the Imperial Conference, the working statesman is for the moment content. They provide means of developing a system of government by continuous consultation between the fully responsible representatives of autonomous nations of an Imperial Commonwealth. The Imperial War Cabinet has its especial war functions affecting the Empire as a whole, and these will cease with the War, but we may anticipate that the Imperial Cabinet will remain, and will be charged with the larger issues of Imperial policy, leaving to the normal British Cabinet the administration of the affairs of the United Kingdom. In that Empire Cabinet of the future as in the Imperial War Cabinet of to-day, representatives of the self-governing Dominions will meet as equals under the presidency of the First Minister of the United Kingdom, he being *primus inter pares*, and in that Empire Cabinet the position will be as Sir Robert Borden describes the position in the Imperial War Cabinet which it will replace :

“Ministers from six nations sit round the Council board, all of them responsible to their respective Parliaments and to the people of the countries they represent. Each nation has its voice upon questions of common concern and highest importance as the deliberations proceed ; each preserves unimpaired its perfect autonomy, its self-government, and the responsibility of ministers to their own electorate.”

The necessity imposed by great events would thus seem to have set the constitutional relations of the Empire upon a new line of development ; the framework has been laid, though no man can yet foretell the exact character of the fabric that will ultimately arise upon it. It is thus through the workings not of a centralised and aggrandised Imperialism, but of an awakened and ennobled nationalism that the peoples of the British Empire may best carry out their united purpose in the world. “With the constitution of the Imperial War Cabinet,” says Sir Robert Borden, “a new era has dawned, and a new page of history has been written.”

P. H.

CANADA'S WAR CHRONOLOGY

1914

August 1.—Canadian Government cable to British Government offering every possible aid in the event of war and asking for suggestions and advice.

August 3.—British Government reply deeply appreciating but postponing detailed reply.

August 4.—British Government cable that "there seems to be no immediate necessity to request a Canadian expeditionary force."

August 4 (midnight).—British Government declare war on Germany.

August 6.—British Government "gratefully accept" Canada's offer of expeditionary force and "would be glad if it could be despatched as soon as possible." Beginning of preparation of Valcartier Camp, Province of Quebec, for Canadian troops; four weeks later 35,000 men were under training there. Canadian Government offer 1,000,000 bags of flour as "gift to people of United Kingdom." Many other gifts in kind from Canadian provincial and civic authorities.

August 14.—Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry (Colonel Farquhar) receive colours from Princess Patricia in Landsowne Park, Ottawa.

August 18-22.—Special war session of Canadian Parliament to adopt emergency war measures and authorise the sending of military contingents overseas. Special war appropriation of 50 million dollars.

September 7.—43,000 men now under arms in Canada.

October 6.—2nd Canadian Division of 20,000 men offered to and accepted by British Government; recruiting begins.

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1st Canadian contingent of over 33,000 troops land at Plymouth, England (Oct. 16), under escort of warships, and proceed to Salisbury Plain to complete training, with 21 thirteen-pounder quick-firing guns, 10 breach-loading sixty-pounder guns, a large number of machine guns, motor lorries, transport wagons and vast quantities of ammunition. Canadian War Contingent Hospital in England begins to receive patients.

1915

January.—Duchess of Connaught's Canadian Red Cross Hospital, Cliveden, open for patients.

February 4.—King makes farewell inspection of 1st Canadian Division on Salisbury Plain.

February 15.—1st Division begin to arrive in France under Lieut.-General E. A. H. Alderson.

February 28.—Princess Patricia's Royal Canadian Regiment forming part of the 27th British Division make their first attack near St. Eloi.

March 6.—2nd Canadian Division begin to land in England, the last part of it arriving in August, 1915.

March 10.—1st Canadian Division at Neuve Chapelle—although not actually engaged in the main attack they "rendered valuable help by keeping the enemy actively employed in front of their trenches."

March 14.—Princess Patricia's specially commended for counter-attack on St. Eloi.

March 24.—Formal constitution of 2nd Canadian Division, Major-General Steele in command while in England.

April 22 to May 3.—2nd Battle Ypres in which 1st Canadian Division hold the road to Calais under the first German gas attack and in the words of Sir John French "saved the situation."

May 2.—Memorial service at St. Paul's, London, for Canadians who fell in the Ypres battle.

May 7.—Princess Patricia's in the Ypres salient withstand fierce enemy attack.

May 19 to 26.—Reinforced 1st Canadian Division assist in Battle of Festubert (Aubers) in which the enemy driven from strong position and ground won on front of four miles to average depth of 600 yards.

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June 15.—Canadian attack at Givenchy.

July 14.—Sir R. Borden attends meeting of the British Cabinet by invitation of Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith.

July 17.—Sir R. Borden visits the 2nd Canadian Division at Shorncliffe and shortly afterwards visits the 1st Canadian Division on the Western Front.

September 2.—King inspects 2nd Canadian Division under Major-General Turner prior to their departure for France.

November.—3rd Canadian Division offered to and accepted by British Government ; the three divisions to constitute the Canadian Army Corps of which General Alderson was put in command, General Currie taking General Alderson's place as Commander of the 1st Canadian Division.

November 30.—Canadian War Loan, 50,000,000 dollars asked for, and 100,000,000 dollars subscribed.

December 31.—212,690 Canadian troops recruited voluntarily for service overseas to date out of an authorised total of 250,000. Sir Robert Borden announces that the authorised forces of Canada will be increased to 500,000 "in token of Canada's unflinching resolve to crown the justice of our cause with victory and an abiding peace."

1916

February.—4th Canadian Division accepted by British Government.

February 19.—Opening of Ontario Military Hospital, Orpington, Kent, by Mr. Bonar Law, Colonial Secretary.

April 3 to 10.—Fierce and unsuccessful German attacks on Canadian positions at St. Eloi.

June.—Sir Julian Byng succeeds General Alderson in command of Canadian Army Corps on the Western Front. Canadians repel fierce German attack on their part of the Ypres salient ; Major-General Mercer, commanding 3rd Canadian Division, killed in action.

July 1 (Dominion Day).—King reviews 4th Canadian Division under Major-General Watson.

September 15.—Canadians capture Courcellette as part of the "Big Push."

November.—Sir George Perley, Acting High Commissioner

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in England, also becomes Overseas Minister of Militia. Sir Samuel Hughes resigns his post of Canadian Minister of Militia and is succeeded by Sir E. Kemp. Duchess of Connaught opens wing of Royal Naval Hospital, Chatham, presented by women of Canada.

December 4.—Major-General Turner recalled from France to England to be G.O.C. Canadian Overseas Military Forces in Great Britain under Sir George Perley.

1917

January 1.—Canadian Red Cross contributions to date, £400,000 in cash and £1,600,000 in kind.

February 7.—Canadian Parliament adjourns after authorising further war appropriation of 500,000,000 dollars. Sir T. White, Canada's Finance Minister, announces that Great Britain is now borrowing 25,000,000 dollars per month from Canada to pay for munitions ordered in Canada.

February 8.—King and Queen visit Massey-Harris Convalescent Home for Canadian soldiers at Kingswood.

February 22 to May 5.—Sir R. Borden visits England to attend an Imperial War Cabinet and an Imperial War Conference. He and his colleagues, Messrs. Rogers and Hazen, also visit the Canadian troops on the Western Front.

April 8 (Easter Monday).—Canadians take conspicuous part in capture of Vimy Ridge.

April 25.—King and Queen visit Canadian Forestry Corps in Windsor Great Park.

April 28.—Canadians capture Arleux-en-Gohelle.

May 9.—Queen opens wing of Royal Naval Hospital, Haslar, presented by women of Canada.

June 8.—Lieutenant-General Sir Julian Byng, Commander of the Canadian Army Corps on the Western Front, is promoted to command the Third Army and is succeeded by Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Currie; Lieutenant-General Sir R. E. Turner being Military Adviser to the Overseas Minister of Militia and Commander of the Canadian forces in England.

June 11.—Sir R. Borden introduces Conscription Bill into Canadian House of Commons.

June 28.—Canadian casualties to date, 99,640 including

68,629 wounded. Up to May 17 the killed numbered 24,000.

July 1 and 2 (Dominion Day Anniversaries).—Canadian Jubilee and Memorial Services at Westminster Abbey, the King and Queen attending, at Westminster (Roman Catholic) Cathedral, and at the Madeleine, Paris.

King and Queen visit Canadian Army Corps, Forestry and Railway battalions, and Camps and Hospitals on Western Front.

July 5.—Opening of Extension of Ontario Military Hospital, Orpington (2,080 beds) by Mr. Walter Long.

July 6.—Canadian Conscription Bill second reading carried in Canadian House of Commons by majority of 63.

July 20.—Up to date Canada has raised 411,000 men for the war and sent 311,000 overseas, and is spending an average of 1,000,000 dollars a day on the war. Her total war expenditure to date is 622,000,000 dollars, of which 388,000,000 dollars was expended in Canada. Her three public war loans realised respectively in dollars 97,003,000, 97,789,580, and 138,832,503. From Great Britain Canada has borrowed 317,000,000 dollars and has advanced 302,000,000 dollars to the Motherland. In private benefactions to war causes 60,000,000 dollars have been spent. Canada has manufactured and sent forward 510,000,000 dollars' worth of munitions to date.

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THE WAR AND THE FUTURE

CHAPTER I

BREWING THE STORM

THE great events which brought about the establishment and consolidation of the German Empire under Prussian domination are well known to you. Bismarck foreshadowed in a famous phrase the policy of the future. "The great questions are to be settled," he said, in 1862, "not by speeches and majority resolutions, but by blood and iron." Then came in quick succession the war against Denmark in 1864, the downfall of Austria in 1866 and the overthrow of France in 1870. The policy of blood and iron seemed to consummate the realisation of that which has been the dream of Germany for centuries. Germany became an Empire; the King of Prussia became its Emperor. The military

spirit of Prussia dominated German thought and German ideals. The intoxication of victory, aided by a propaganda preached to every child and every young man by the foremost thinkers of Germany, imposed on its people an ideal and an ambition which included the dominance of Europe and indeed of the world.

The British people have only recently come to realise the astonishing teaching to which the German people have listened for the last half-century. Among many others, Treitschke, a great professor of history, whose influence upon the young men of Germany cannot be over-estimated, and Bernhardi, his disciple, have preached the religion of valour and of might. War has been glorified as a solemn duty for the cause of national development. They proclaimed that the State is not only justified but bound to put aside all obligations and to disregard all treaties in so far as they may conflict with its highest interest. "War," said Bernhardi, "is in itself a good thing. It is a biological necessity of the first importance. . . . War is the greatest factor in the furtherance of culture and power. . . . Efforts to secure peace are extraordinarily detri-

mental as soon as they influence politics. . . . Efforts directed toward the abolition of war are not only foolish but absolutely immoral and must be stigmatised as unworthy of the human race. . . . Courts of arbitration are a pernicious delusion. The whole idea represents a presumptuous encroachment on natural laws of development which can only lead to the most disastrous consequences for humanity generally. . . . The maintenance of peace never can be or may be the goal of a policy. . . . Efforts for peace would, if they attained their goal, lead to degeneration. . . . Huge armaments are in themselves desirable. They are the most necessary precondition of our national health."

The profound influence of this teaching upon the German people may be realised from their unquestioning support of the enormous increase in their military and naval forces. Beyond question, Germany is the greatest military power in the world. Without any such need as makes a great fleet imperatively necessary to ensure the safety and even the existence of the British Empire, she has built up in ships, personnel, dockyards and all other essentials, a powerful

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navy designed to challenge conclusions with that of Great Britain. What ambitions would not be open to Germany, what tribute could she not exact, if, dominating Europe with her army, she could wage a successful naval campaign against Britain!

Within the past ten years the peace of Europe has been threatened by Germany on no less than three occasions. In 1905 France at her dictation was obliged to dismiss her Foreign Minister. In 1909 Germany shook her mailed fist and compelled Russia to bow to her will. In 1911, as the history of the Agadir incident recalls, she again attempted to coerce and humiliate France and the situation was saved only by the interposition of Great Britain. Germany receded on that occasion from her first pretensions, but only to abide her time. Her time, as she thought, had come in July, 1914. (2)

* * *

The three great wars in which Germany has engaged during the past fifty years have brought to the nation prestige, territory, huge war indemnities and an astonishing increase of national power and influence. During all that period German soil has never

been oppressed by the foot of an invader and its people have been spared many of the miseries which war has brought to the nations over whom they triumphed. The religion of valour ; the doctrine that might constitutes the highest and only right ; that the State is bound to exercise through war its increasing power for its own advancement and for the diffusion of its ideals and culture ; the belief that German ideals, methods and culture embody the highest and best results of civilisation and that Germany military dominance represents what is best not only for Germany but for the whole world ; the economic and commercial advantages and the colonial expansion which German military prowess would secure for the nation through war ; these and the like considerations explain in part the concentration of Germany's thought upon the ideal of force, of war and of conquest. (5)

* * *

The spirit of Prussian militarism knew from the first that its ideal could not be realised without a victorious war against our Empire. They believed our race to be decadent and the Empire a sham which ought to be destroyed. Denmark in 1864, Austria in

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1866, France in 1870 and our Empire on that future day to which they drank. (3)

* * *

“ It is upon the navy that, under the good Providence of God, the wealth, prosperity and peace of these islands and of our Empire do mainly depend.” So reads the statement of our dependence upon the sea as set forth in the *Articles of War* ; and the challenge of Germany to this safeguard of our Empire has been unmistakable for nearly twenty years. The German naval law of 1900 did not expressly name the British fleet, but it designated it unmistakably as that with which Germany proposed to measure her strength. The disparity of the naval risk of the two Empires must never be overlooked in considering the design. The military forces of our Empire were insignificant compared with those of Germany. The one numbered its army by millions and the other by thousands. Germany with her huge and magnificently organised army could whenever she chose invade and conquer Great Britain after a successful naval campaign in the North Sea. Great Britain possessed no such military power as would enable her unaided even to contemplate a military attack upon

Germany. A decisive battle lost at sea by Germany would still have left her the greatest power in Europe. Such a battle lost at sea by Great Britain would for ever ruin the United Kingdom, shatter the British Empire to its foundations and change profoundly the destiny of its component parts. The advantages which Great Britain would gain from defeating Germany were negligible ; while there were practically no limits to the ambitions in which Germany might indulge or to the glowing prospects opened to her in every quarter of the globe if the British Navy were out of the way. The combination of the strongest navy with that of the strongest army would offer more magnificent prospects of power and influence than those within the grasp of any Empire of modern times.

No one can truthfully allege that the naval policy of Great Britain has been provocative. During the past nine years, at least, the British Government have manifested a deep and earnest desire to check and mitigate the rivalry in naval quarters. This desire has been manifested both by precept and by example ; but the only result of the example was to stimulate Germany to greater efforts. Under the latest German programme,

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the fleet possessed by that power in 1920 would not be inferior to the British Navy of to-day. Moreover, their great fleet was not dispersed all over the world for duties of commerce protection or in the discharge of colonial responsibilities, nor were its composition and character adapted to this purpose. It was concentrated and kept concentrated in close proximity to the German and British coasts ; and it was organised and designed, at every stage and in every particular, with a view to fleet action on a large scale in the North Sea or North Atlantic with the navy of some other great power. It could not have been designed for the defence of Germany against attack by another naval power. Germany has a very small coast line, most unpromising for any opportunity of naval attack, and defended by an immense frontage of fortifications crowned by enormous batteries. The whole character of the German fleet shows that it was designed for aggressive and offensive action on the highest possible scale in the North Sea or the North Atlantic. (3)

CHAPTER II

HOW ENGLAND STROVE FOR PEACE

ON three recognised occasions during the past ten years Germany has brought Europe to the verge of actual war. On two of these occasions she imposed her will upon Europe, but on the third Great Britain stood firmly resolute and Germany receded. The events of 1911 have never been forgotten; and there is reason to believe that, but for the commanding influence and untiring efforts of Sir Edward Grey, the war which broke out in 1914 would have been forced upon Europe during the previous year. I have spoken of three occasions; but as was once said to me by a statesman of great experience in the Foreign Office: "The international kettle is always on the verge of boiling, although the people know nothing of it until the steam begins to escape." When the secrets of diplomatic records come to be fully disclosed I do not doubt that in each of the

past ten years German aggressiveness will be found to have made war imminent or at least probable. (5)

* * *

The armed forces of Europe, as we all know, during the past twenty or twenty-five years have been increasing beyond measure ; and the closest students of the world's politics have believed for many years past that war was bound to come. It did come, and with startling suddenness ; and it is my duty to say that after reading the documents I am convinced that no Government ever with more whole-hearted earnestness sought to keep the peace of the world and the peace of this empire than did His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom. It has been the policy of the British Government for many years past to seek reduction of armaments and thus to lessen the danger that lurks in the enormous armed forces with which the nations of Europe have confronted each other. At and ever since The Hague Conference in 1907, British statesmen have pleaded with the nations of the world to reduce their armaments. At The Hague Conference, and on many occasions since, Great Britain offered to give up what would

seem to be very material advantages to her in time of war, if by such concessions she could induce Germany and other countries to abate the awful increase in armaments of war which has been proceeding. (1)

* * *

In the very last moments of peace, before Great Britain finally embarked in the conflict she made this earnest proposal to the German Government: That if this most appalling crisis could be passed she would use every influence and every effort that she could command to bring about such an understanding between Germany and her ally on the one hand, and Russia and France on the other hand as would relieve Germany and Austria from any possible apprehension of attack from that quarter; and the Minister declared himself to be inspired with a very full confidence that if this crisis could be passed, that great result would be brought about. (1)

* * *

I do not think any man among us can escape the conviction that there was a deliberate determination in the first place to force war upon Servia, regardless of any humiliation to which she might consent or

of any consequences which might result from that war. I say that such is my deliberate conviction. (1)

* * *

Every man must know that plans of campaign are not made after war breaks out. Plans of campaign are made long in advance, and the German plan of campaign which has been carried out in the present war is one which involved as a first step in their war-like operations the absolute violation of the independence of Belgium. (1)

* * *

Once a free nation, once any of these small nationalities commits itself to the principle of having its territory overrun by the armed forces of another nation without offering any resistance, from that time not only the neutrality but the independence of that country is gone. (1)

* * *

The British Government, acting as they were bound to act in the interests of this empire as a whole, declared that the whole power and resources of this empire were pledged to defend the independence and

integrity of Belgium as guaranteed by the treaties of 1831 and 1839. It is true that a promise was made that after the war was over the neutrality of Belgium would be absolutely respected, but the words of Mr. Asquith put the case with regard to that as cogently and forcibly as it could be put. He said : What would have been the position of Great Britain to-day in the face of that spectacle if we had assented to this infamous proposal ? Yes, and what are we to get in return for the betrayal of our friends and the dishonour of our obligations ? What are we to get in return ? A promise—nothing more ; a promise as to what Germany would do in certain eventualities ; a promise be it observed—I am sorry to have to say it but it must be put upon record—given by a Power which was at that very moment announcing its intention to violate its own treaty and inviting us to do the same. I can only say, if we had dallied or temporised, we, as a Government, should have covered ourselves with dishonour, and we should have betrayed the interests of this country, of which we are trustees. And I am sure that every man in Canada will say Amen to Mr. Asquith's declaration. (1)

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After Great Britain had asked from Germany the assurance which both Prussia and France had given in 1870, and which France gave in 1914, that Belgian neutrality would not be violated, inasmuch as it was guaranteed by all the great Powers of Europe, contemptuous reference was made by the German Chancellor to the treaty as a "scrap of paper." That cynical and even degenerate conception reverts to standards which are beyond the limits of recorded history. Under such a misconception of public right and international duty, how is it possible for nations to deal with each other? Three thousand years ago it was considered disgraceful that a nation should violate its solemn engagements. The fundamental principle upon which the internal organisation and the external relations of each nation are based is the honourable fulfilment of engagements and pledges, and the assurance that they will be so fulfilled. The constitution of many countries is but a "scrap of paper." Our laws are recorded in "scraps of paper." The dealings of mankind are carried on by "scraps of paper." All our commercial fabric is founded on "scraps of paper." From Magna Charta to the British North

America Act, our rights and liberties have been safeguarded by “scraps of paper.” In short, the thought and the achievement of all the centuries is embodied in “scraps of paper.” When terms of peace come to be considered, the Prussian cynicism touching treaty obligations must not be forgotten. (4)

* * *

Occasionally we hear dissertations upon European militarism which are apparently intended to include the Mother Country. The unfortified boundary of four thousand miles between the United States and Canada is used as an illustration that all the nations of Europe lack the peace-loving spirit which pervades this continent. No one can fail to rejoice that that boundary, whether on land or on water, needs no guard on either side. But let it be remembered that the convention which practically forbade any armed forces on the Great Lakes was made between the Government of Great Britain and the Government of the United States fifty years before this Dominion came into existence. Let it not be forgotten that in the most difficult and delicate controversies that have arisen between our Empire and the kindred nation to our south, Great Britain has always main-

tained the policy of settling by peaceful arbitrament disputes of even vital concern. Of this the Alabama Treaty and the settlement of the Venezuela controversy are conspicuous illustrations; and the examples thus given have since been followed in many notable instances. Those who apparently include Great Britain in scathing denunciations of European militarism would do well to recall their words and to remember that by every available effort and up to the last limit consistent with national honour, our empire during the past half-century has sought to maintain peace. (12)

CHAPTER III

CANADA'S "WAR BOOK"

THE Committee of Imperial Defence, as at present constituted, was established in 1904. It consists of the Prime Minister of Great Britain and of such persons as he may summon to attend it. Practically all members of the British Cabinet attend its deliberations from time to time, and usually the more important members of the Cabinet are present. In addition to these, naval and military experts and technical officers of the various departments concerned are in attendance when required. The results of the Committee's labours are embodied in a *War Book*, which sets forth in great detail necessary measures to be taken upon the outbreak of war and carefully considered arrangements for carrying out these measures without delay or confusion. The work of the Committee is largely carried on by sub-committees, which are often constituted in

part by persons who are not members of the general committee and who are selected for their special knowledge of a particular subject. Among the permanent sub-committees is one called "The Over-Sea Defence Committee," which gives particular attention to matters affecting the defence of the Overseas Dominions.

There had been no committee in Canada charged with the same duties; and conditions made it desirable that we should be prepared for grave events which might transpire without much warning. All the innumerable contingencies arising out of war cannot be provided for; but reasonable foresight and effective preparation can guard against many of them. (4)

* * *

Early in January 1914 I directed a conference of the deputy heads of the various Departments of the Government of Canada, and instructed them to undertake the necessary preparation and to report to me from time to time. The Conference consisted of the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Governor-General's military secretary, the Deputy Minister of Militia and Defence, the Deputy Minister of the

Naval Service, the Deputy Minister of Justice, the Commissioner of Customs, the Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries, the Deputy Postmaster-General, and the Deputy Minister of Railways and Canals, with the Director of Military Operations, Major Gordon Hall, and the Director of Gunnery, Lieut. R. M. Stevens, as joint secretaries. The work commenced in January, and necessary arrangements were practically completed during July. Every Department of the Government was instructed to develop its own line of action in detail, and the whole was subsequently co-ordinated and incorporated into one scheme, indicating the course to be followed by the Government as a whole upon the outbreak of war. The labours of the Committee resulted in the preparation of a *War Book*, which was completed only a few weeks before this appalling struggle began. It is impossible to over-estimate the advantage which resulted from the steps thus taken. While war was impending and when it broke out, measures which were immediately and urgently necessary were taken instantly and with an entire absence of confusion. Each detail had been worked out with precision and every necessary step

had been arranged in advance. All details of preparation, arrangement and instruction had been systematically compiled into the *War Book*, which co-ordinated the activities of the several Departments and rendered possible an effective co-operation with the Imperial authorities, which otherwise would have been exceedingly difficult if not largely impracticable. (4)

* * *

I took the responsibility three days before the actual declaration of war of sending a message to His Majesty's Government stating that, if war should unhappily supervene, they might be assured that Canada would regard the quarrel as her own, and would do her part in maintaining the integrity of this empire and all that this war means to us. We are not a military nation in Canada ; we are a peace-loving and peace-pursuing people with great tasks of development within our own borders lying before us. Thus, for a struggle such as this, upon so gigantic a scale, we were naturally unprepared. But even so, the Minister of Militia and Defence succeeded in placing upon the Plain of Valcartier, within six weeks of the outbreak of war, a force of thirty-three thousand men,

thoroughly armed and equipped in every branch of the service—infantry, artillery, commissariat, Army Service Corps, and all the vast organisation that is necessary in war as carried on in the present day. (6)

* * *

We are engaged with a great nation whose military preparation has extended over nearly half a century, and whose aim, as far as we can comprehend it, has been world-wide supremacy by force of arms. Naturally in the opening months, even in the opening year, of such a struggle we could not accomplish all that might at first be expected; but I take comfort in this thought, that for purposes of war or for any other purpose the resources of this empire are not only abundant but almost unlimited. The day of peril came before the day of preparation. But looking back on what we had to contend with, the condition of affairs to-day is one upon which we should rather congratulate ourselves than otherwise. I have no fear for the future, although the struggle may be a long one and may entail sacrifices which we did not at first anticipate. (6)

* * *

The highest national spirit is to be found

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in a true appreciation of the conditions which confront us. The enemy nations were not without their misconceptions as to the results which they would obtain from their immense preparation for this war and by reason of our lack of preparation. On the other hand it is best to admit that we have not been guiltless of misconception. In the early months we failed correctly to estimate the immense fighting power of a nation highly disciplined and thoroughly organised for war, as well as for peace, and unquestioningly obedient to the will and control of a determined military autocracy. Later we did not adequately realise the resourcefulness of the enemy in adapting himself to new conditions of warfare which must have been as unexpected to him as to us.

•Before the outbreak of war there was discussion during recent years as to Britain's ability to send across the Channel in case of need an expeditionary force. The estimate of the force which could be sent varied from eighty thousand to one hundred and sixty thousand men. Confronted with the realities of a war which tests our national existence we find it necessary to organise, arm and equip expeditionary forces ten or twenty

times greater than those first contemplated. No one who has not had the responsibility of office can realise what it means not only to organise such forces but to provide guns, rifles and equipment on so immense a scale. From personal experience I know something of such responsibilities ; and I am glad to feel that they are being met in these British Isles as they ought to be met. The task is a great one ; it is vitally necessary that the whole power of the nation should be concentrated upon it, and I believe that it is now being so concentrated. I have this profound conviction—that regiment for regiment, and man for man, our forces are holding their own, and more than holding their own, with the best and most efficient troops of the enemy. (9)

* * *

What a fantastic picture it was that Prussian militarism made for itself before the outbreak of this war. It pictured Canada, Australia and New Zealand standing aloof and indifferent or seeking an opportunity to cut themselves adrift from the empire. What is the actual picture to-day ? They are bound to the empire by stronger ties than ever before and are prepared to fight

to the death for the maintenance of its integrity and for the preservation of our common civilisation throughout the world. What of South Africa? The Prussian picture was that it should flare into rebellion at once, sever itself from the empire, and proclaim its independence. What is the actual picture? The heroic figure of General Louis Botha receiving the surrender of German South-West Africa—a territory larger than Germany itself.

We have nothing to fear as the outcome. We do not, we dare not, doubt the success of the cause for which the British Empire and the Allied nations are fighting. It is impossible to believe that the democracies of the British Empire, even though unprepared on so tremendous a scale as our opponents for such a war as this, will not prove their efficiency in this day of peril. They have proved it, and they will prove it to the end. (6)

CHAPTER IV

THE DOMINION STEPS OUT

THE military autocracy of Germany have taught their people for more than twenty years that the British Empire stood chiefly in the path of German expansion, and that war was inevitable. No one could predict the exact occasion which would be seized, but no one could doubt the intention of the Prussian militarists. There was the lesson of Denmark and Austria and France. In the end the storm broke suddenly, and Canada was confronted with responsibilities greater than those which it had ever faced. The situation demanded action; it demanded immediate and unhesitating action beyond the authorisation of the law as it then stood; it was impossible for the Government to wait; and by Order-in-Council we promulgated necessary measures in advance of the meeting of Parliament. The people of Canada loyally acquiesced in these measures, and our

course has been ratified by the necessary legislative sanction. (2)

* * *

The first telegram I sent on August 1 to Mr. Harcourt, Secretary of State for the Colonies, is as follows :

August 1, 1914.

“ Secret. In view of the impending danger of war involving the empire, my advisers are anxiously considering the most effective means of rendering every possible aid, and they will welcome any suggestion and advice which Imperial naval and military authorities may deem it expedient to offer. They are confident that a considerable force would be available for service abroad. A question has been mooted respecting the status of any Canadian force serving abroad, as under section sixty-nine of Canadian Militia Act active militia can only be placed on active service beyond Canada for the defence thereof. It has been suggested that regiments might enlist as Imperial troops for stated period, Canadian Government undertaking to make all necessary financial provision for their equipment, pay, and maintenance. This proposal has not yet been maturely considered here, and my advisers would be glad to have views of Imperial Government thereon.”

The answer which we received and which was not made public at the time, as war had not yet broken out, was on August 3, and it is as follows :

“ With reference to your cypher telegram August 2, please inform your ministers that their patriotic readiness to render every aid is deeply appreciated by His Majesty’s Government, but they would prefer postponing detailed observations on the suggestion put forward, pending further developments. As soon as situation appears to call for further measures I will telegraph you again.”

That telegram is significant because it shows that then, on August 3, the Imperial Government not only were using every endeavour to preserve peace, but had hopes that peace might be preserved. Therefore, they made their answer to us in the guarded language which I have just quoted. (1)

* * *

On August 4 the Imperial Government sent us the following further telegram with regard to the same matter :

“ Though there seems to be no immediate necessity for any request on our part for an

expeditionary force from Canada, I think, in view of their generous offer, your ministers would be wise to take all legislative and other steps by which they would be enabled without delay to provide such a force in case it should be required later.

On August 6 they sent us the following despatch :

“ With reference to my telegram of August 4, His Majesty’s Government gratefully accept offer of your ministers to send expeditionary force to this country, and would be glad if it could be despatched as soon as possible. Suggested composition follows.”

On August 1 I also sent through His Royal Highness the Governor-General the following telegram :

“ My advisers, while expressing their most earnest hope that peaceful solution of existing international difficulties may be achieved and their strong desire to co-operate in every possible way for that purpose, wish me to convey to His Majesty’s Government the firm assurance that, if unhappily war should ensue, the Canadian people will be united in a common resolve to put forth every effort and to make every sacrifice necessary to ensure the integrity and maintain the honour of our empire.”

To which on August 2 the following reply was received :

“ With reference to your telegram August 1, His Majesty’s Government gratefully welcome the assurance of your Government that in the present crisis they may rely on wholehearted co-operation of the people of Canada.” (1)

* * *

On August 7, the suggested composition of Canada’s force was received from the British authorities (a division comprising about 22,500 men), and was immediately sanctioned by Order-in-Council. Recruiting in the meantime had already commenced, and on August 6 the preparation of the Valcartier Camp was begun. I visited that Camp four weeks from the day on which work commenced, and I am proud that we possess in Canada the ability to achieve within so limited a period all that was accomplished within that month. A rifle range comprising a line of 1,500 targets, and extending more than three and a half miles, was completed within about ten days. A complete water supply with necessary piping, pumps, tanks and chlorinating plant, with about 200 taps fitted to ablution tables and seventy-five

shower baths, was constructed. An electric light, power and telephone system was installed. Streets were constructed ; buildings and tents erected and an effective sewerage system, comprising over 28,000 feet of drain pipe, was completed. Railway sidings with necessary loading platforms were constructed. Woods were cleared and elaborate sanitary arrangements prepared. Six large buildings for ordnance stores and for the Army Service Corps, buildings for medical stores, for pay and transport offices, hospital stables for sick horses, fumigating and other buildings were constructed and made ready for use within the same period. Thirty-five thousand men were assembled and put through a most systematic course of training in all branches of the service. Infantry, Cavalry, Artillery, Engineers, Army Service Corps, Army Medical Corps, Signallers and Ammunition columns were organised, and all were trained in their respective duties. Sixteen thousand men were trained daily in musketry. The clothing and equipment, the transport and supply for 35,000 men were a heavy undertaking, especially in the urgency of haste. It is difficult for those who did not see the camp and who have not studied all that has been

accomplished to realise the tremendous demands made upon the organising ability of the Canadian people to accomplish all this. I venture the assertion that the organisation and arrangements of Valcartier Camp have not been excelled in any part of our empire since the commencement of this war.

It is unnecessary to describe in detail all the equipment, arms, accoutrements and other necessities furnished. To equip the force sent forward and to make some provision for future contingents 290,000 pairs of boots and shoes have been provided; 100,000 forage caps, 90,000 greatcoats, 240,000 jackets and sweaters of various types, 235,000 pairs of trousers, 70,000 rifles, 70,000 bayonets, 80,000 oil bottles, 70,000 water bottles, 95,000 sets of valise equipment, and so on in like proportion over a list of sixty-six different articles. With the first expeditionary force we sent to Great Britain 21 thirteen-pounder quick-firing guns, 96 eighteen-pounder quick-firing guns, 10 breech-loading sixty-pounder guns, a large number of machine guns, motor lorries, transport waggons and vast quantities of ammunition. The force was ready for embarkation within six weeks from the outbreak of war, and could have been then

despatched if arrangements for escort had been immediately possible. You perhaps do not realise how great an undertaking it was for a non-military country to assemble, organise, train, equip and despatch so large a force within that brief period. It is, I believe, the largest military force that ever crossed the Atlantic at one time. In the great Armada, which threatened the shores of Great Britain three centuries ago, there were less than 20,000 soldiers. The force which we have sent across the Atlantic (December 1914) is nearly 50 per cent. greater than the total number of British troops under Wellington's command at Waterloo. (2)

* * *

In these islands of the United Kingdom you have risen splendidly to the need ; we of the Dominions have striven also to do our part. In July 1915 I reminded you that 300,000 men had joined the colours in the Oversea nations. To-day (April 1917) I can tell you that not fewer than 1,000,000 men in those Dominions have taken up arms for the empire. The Canadian Expeditionary Force then numbered 75,000 ; to-day (April 1917) I am proud to tell you that Canada has sent forth to the Allied cause more than 425,000

men. Our total enlistments exceed 400,000, and in the Canadian Expeditionary Force alone more than 300,000 men have left the shores of our Dominion. Their achievement under the sternest test has been splendidly worthy of the traditions which are their heritage. (16)

CHAPTER V

AMONG THE FIGHTING MEN

MR. BONAR LAW has spoken of the courage and resourcefulness of the Canadian troops. They were men taken from civil avocations of life, with no prolonged military training, but with the habit of overcoming obstacles, with a certain resourcefulness, with all the traditions of the great races from which they sprang, and inspired by such a spirit as made us sure that their record would be worthy of Canada. I would not speak the truth if I did not confess to you that I am proud, very proud indeed, of the part which they have played. I am equally proud of the splendid valour shown by the men of these islands in that great retreat from Mons, against overwhelming numbers, under difficulties which I think were greater than those which ever before attended a successful retreat. The empire's tribute is due to the unsurpassed valour and heroism of the British

Army at that time. It is almost superfluous to speak of the equally splendid valour which has distinguished the troops of Australia and New Zealand at the Dardanelles. I had the pleasure of sending telegrams to the Governments of these two Dominions, congratulating them upon the part which their forces are taking in that very dangerous operation. (6)

* * *

My visit to Great Britain and France during the past summer was crowded with the most impressive incidents which have ever come within my experience. In France I saw a nation in arms for the preservation of its existence ; men of every rank, condition, and walk of life, summoned it is true, but eagerly anxious to do their share in freeing the soil of France from the foot of the invader ; those physically unfit for military service, the old men, the women, and the children taking their part in the fields or in the munition factories ; the whole country cultivated by their labour and bearing abundant crops ; the entire nation animated by a resolute and united spirit of patriotic devotion. The people of Great Britain, to whom the realities of war have been brought home

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by the barbarous attacks on undefended communities along the coast and by the raids of the Zeppelins, are not less determined and not less conscious that this unprovoked war threatens their national existence.

At the Front I have seen the Canadian troops and their British comrades, and the great armies of France as well. I need not dwell upon their valour, their fortitude, their efficiency. To the Canadian troops it was my privilege to bear a message from the Canadian people; a message of pride and admiration to men who, with no experience in active service and with but little military training, proved themselves the equal of any troops in the world under the test of as searching an ordeal as was ever known. (II)

* * *

One who has seen the manhood of a young nation spring to arms at the call of duty, and has been inspired by its wonderful outburst of patriotism and its spirit of self-sacrifice; one who has had the privilege of addressing the flower of his country's youth within sound and range of the enemy's guns as well as in hospitals and convalescent homes beyond the seas, and has stood by the graves of those who fell in France and in Belgium;

one who has looked forth upon the valley at the foot of the hills that sweep around Ypres, and has realised that more than one hundred thousand men had there found their graves within ten months—such a person must surely realise the tragedy of this war and the awful responsibility of those who forced it upon the world.

The outbreak of hostilities found us utterly unprepared with military forces adequate for the vast operations which were immediately found necessary. Never perhaps, not even in the stress which came upon this Republic (United States of America) more than half a century ago, has the capacity of democracy been so thoroughly and searchingly tested. We were called upon to meet the assault of the greatest military power ever known to the world, a highly efficient, thoroughly organised and determined people, trained to arms, magnificently equipped, provided with every military necessity and so industrially organised that the whole force of the nation could be thrown behind the blow it struck. Armies cannot be organised and trained nor munitions provided in a day. The task has been difficult, but the effort has been great. It would not have been undertaken, nor

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could it be accomplished, except for the most intense conviction of a righteous cause and the firmest determination to make it prevail. (14)

* * *

In common with all the empire the spirit of Canada when tested proved worthy of their highest traditions. For courage and devotion I point to the Canadians at Ypres, at Festubert, at Givenchy. For self-sacrifice, I see the women yielding their dearest at the country's call and consecrating their lives to all missions of mercy. For the bountiful generosity of our people I need but mention six millions for the Patriotic Fund, two millions for the British Red Cross Society, three and a half millions for our own Red Cross and kindred societies, more than two millions for the starving and destitute in Belgium, at least three millions in other patriotic contributions from Provinces and individuals, five millions in food products and other supplies useful for war purposes placed by the Dominion and the Provinces at the disposal of the British Government (December 1915). Men of great financial experience believed that subscriptions by the public at large to the recent

Canadian war loan of fifty million dollars would probably reach ten millions and could not exceed fifteen. The public added seventy millions to the fifteen, and the total subscriptions ran close to one hundred and ten millions.

I have spoken of all these things in order that you (of the New England Society, New York) may truly comprehend what our course has been in this war, and that you may perhaps believe that Canada has made her loyalty a living principle in a finer way than ever before. And our empire seems to us something greater than it was a year ago; when mighty armies from the Dominions and Dependencies arrayed themselves in its battle-line, a new and impressive epoch in its history was marked. These pregnant events have already given birth to a new order. It is realised that the great policies and questions which concern and govern the issues of peace and war cannot in future be decided by the people of the British Islands alone.

Realising to the full the tragedy of this war we in Canada pray that "the whirring loom of time" may weave the mighty events of the next twelve months into an abiding

peace. But there is with us the most intense conviction that the cause for which we fight does truly concern the freedom of the world, and that there can be no enduring peace until it fully prevails. Interwoven with this conviction is an equally intense and unalterable determination to spare no effort and shrink from no sacrifice necessary to make so great a cause triumphant. Finally we have faith that this war heralds not the "*dies iræ*" but the regeneration of our civilisation, founded as it is upon so many centuries of aspiration, endeavour and sacrifice; faith also that humanity's struggle against the enthronement of force above right will not be in vain. (13)

* * *

Canada emerges triumphant from this great test of her unity, her patriotism and her national spirit. It has brought together in co-operation and mutual helpfulness divergent interests, different beliefs and dissonant ideals. Every province, every city, town and village, and indeed every community, has contributed its quota to the magnificent Patriotic Fund, which has been raised to make just provision for those dependent upon the men who have gone to

the Front. Let us not forget a tribute to the patriotism and generosity of our citizens of German descent, who, in proportion to their numbers and their means, have made so splendid a contribution to that fund. The women of Canada have provided a great hospital, and all Canada is grateful for their untiring activities in the many missions of mercy which they have undertaken. From the Dominion, from every province, from cities and towns, from associations of farmers, from the great labour interests of the country, and from individuals, aid has come in a generous stream. (2)

CHAPTER VI

SEA POWER : RESPONSIBILITY OF THE DOMINIONS

THOSE who are familiar with the religious services used at sea will remember that prayer goes up from the men of the Navy, in peace as in war, that they may be a safeguard to their Sovereign and his dominions and a security for such as pass upon the seas on their lawful occasions. The quaint words of that old prayer express as perfectly as may be that which is most essential for the security and integrity of this empire, a safe pathway across the seas. Surely that prayer has been fulfilled even in this appalling war, for already the silent victory on the sea has been won. (I)

* * *

We (in Canada) realise not less than you (in England) that the pathways of the seas are the veins and arteries of this empire through which its life-blood must flow.

If these are once stopped or seriously obstructed the empire cannot continue to exist. We are conscious with you of that wonderful vigil in the North Sea, of the patience, endurance and fortitude of the officers and men of the British Navy. We are grateful as you are grateful, with the most intense appreciation of all that they have wrought. They have rid the seas of the marauders by which our commerce was troubled, and have safeguarded that intercourse which is so absolutely necessary for you and for us, both in peace and war. (8)

* * *

The German Navy has not come forth from its fortress shelter to engage the British fleet in any large action. We cannot know what designs the future may reveal ; but it is an open secret that by a process of attrition, of destroying here and there a dread-nought or a cruiser, Germany hopes to undertake the contest on more equal terms. Our commerce has nevertheless been to some extent disturbed, many ships have been captured, one important cable station in the Pacific has been destroyed, and in the South Pacific two ships went down after a most

gallant action against great odds. With them went down four young Canadians, three from my native province and one from the adjoining province of New Brunswick ; and I pause to pay a tribute to their memory. Consider what might have been the result if many such cruisers as the *Emden*, the *Königsberg* and the *Karlsruhe* had been let loose to prey upon our commerce ; and remember that Great Britain's ability to keep concentrated in the North Sea the enormous naval force now gathered there is owing to conditions which could not be anticipated with certainty. The powerful French fleet in the Mediterranean and the Japanese cruisers in the Pacific have enabled Great Britain to keep the "Grand Fleet," as it is called, concentrated in the North Sea to muzzle the German Navy. Mr. Churchill has spoken of the Navy's splendid work. Realising that all the ocean pathways throughout the world had to be protected and our commerce safeguarded in every sea, one cannot say too much in praise of the officers and men who have discharged this great duty. (3)

* * *

Do you appreciate what it meant last

winter for those men to hold that wonderful, ceaseless vigil in the North Sea? I do not believe it could be adequately described. The submarine menace, too, upon which the Germans counted so much, has been met by a resourcefulness on the part of the Admiralty, on the part of the officers and men of the Navy, which I believe has proved much more effective than has yet been disclosed. Indeed, not only in connection with submarine, but also in respect of clearing the ocean of all the dangers that threatened our commerce, too much cannot be said in praise of the Navy's work. It has been splendid, it has been wonderful; and in these days when we sometimes are a little discouraged because of lack of success in this or that theatre of operations, believe me when I tell you that the task performed by the British and Allied Navies in keeping the seas cleared is an infinitely greater weight in the scale of victory than all that has been accomplished by our enemies upon land.

And Britain has made great sacrifices for it, not only in recent years, but for five centuries past—sacrifices adequate to the task which this war made necessary.

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We have fed our sea for a thousand years,
And she calls us, still unfed,
Though there's never a wave of all her waves
But marks our English dead.
We have strawed our best to the weeds' unrest,
To the shark and the sheering gull.
If blood be the price of admiralty,
Lord God! we ha' paid in full. (10)

* * *

Many hundred thousand men will return after this war to their homes in the Oversea Dominions of the British Commonwealth. They will have thronged upon the stage of the world's theatre of action and taken a mighty part in settling world issues and determining the future destiny of civilisation and humanity. Upon our Atlantic and Pacific shores, by our inland waterways, in the northern hinterlands of Ontario and Quebec, on our vast western plains, and still further west within the shadow of majestic mountain ranges, these men will take up anew the task of developing and upbuilding our country. They will take up that work with a consciousness that Canada has played a worthy part in the fateful struggle which she entered at the call of duty and for the cause of freedom. Theirs will be an imperishable recollection of comradeship with

men of the Motherland and of all parts of the King's Dominions; theirs also a wider vision and deeper insight from service in a high cause. Hardly less profound will be the influence of the war upon all our people. They have learned that self-sacrifice in a just cause is at once a duty and a blessing, and this lesson has both inspired and ennobled the men and women of Canada. It was indeed worth a great sacrifice to know that beneath eagerness for wealth and apparent absorption in material development there still burned the flame of that spirit upon which alone a nation's permanence can be founded. One must move among our people to realise their overmastering conviction that the justice and greatness of our cause overpower all other considerations, and to comprehend the intensity of the spirit which permeates and quickens every Canadian community.

The overseas men will have learned another lesson and they will have learned it so thoroughly that it never can be forgotten. That lesson is two-fold: first, that the liberty, the security and the very existence of our empire are dependent upon the safety of the ocean pathways whether in peace or

war ; next, that while sea power cannot of itself be the instrument of world domination, it is nevertheless the most powerful instrument by which world domination can be effectually resisted. Three hundred years ago it for ever crushed arrogant pretensions then put forward to control western trade routes and to exclude therefrom the free nations of the world. Little more than a century ago it maintained freedom against world domination by a single military system. To-day it remains the shield of the same freedom and it will so continue. The burden of so tremendous a responsibility must not rest upon Britain alone but upon the greater Commonwealth which comprises all the King's Dominions. (15)

* * *

The development of submarine warfare during the past three years has been so important and so serious as to cause the authorities of the Admiralty to reconsider more or less the whole position. But we do believe that after this war is over it will be necessary for the United Kingdom and the Overseas Dominions of the Empire to take up this question in co-operation and concert, and for that purpose the Admiralty should prepare,

with the least possible delay after the war is over, a scheme by which we could act together for this great common purpose.

It is obvious to all of us that if the communications of this Empire on the ocean are cut the Empire cannot hold together. It is a matter of congratulation to us that although there is a serious menace in the submarine campaign which Germany has carried on, this has been met with at least some success at the present time and I hope it will be met with more success in the future.

Outside of the submarine campaign, we all rejoice that the ocean had been swept practically clear of the German flag within a few months after this war broke out. That is a great achievement, and it means as much for us (Canadians) as it does for the people of the United Kingdom.

What is it that enables our producers, that has enabled our producers during the past three years, to send their products at greatly increased prices across the ocean for the sustenance and comfort of the people of the United Kingdom and for the purpose of carrying on this war? It is the organised power of the British Empire in the navy—that, and that alone.

What is it that keeps Quebec, Montreal, Halifax, St. John, Victoria and Vancouver from being raided by enemy cruisers, from seeing women and children murdered in the streets by German shells and saves them from all the horrors and barbarities that even some of the towns of the United Kingdom have suffered?

I say again it is the organised power of the Empire in our navy. Therefore, it is a matter of concern to us, as to the United Kingdom, that we should see to it that the united naval power of this Empire is kept and increased in such measure that the Overseas path shall not be closed to us either in peace or in war.

(21)

CHAPTER VII

THE KINGDOM OF THE AIR

THERE is another arm of the Service which has done great things. I allude to the splendid work performed by the Royal Flying Corps in this war. Knowing the great efforts made by other nations in this particular branch of military and naval activity we were inclined to anticipate that the British aviation service might not be up to the highest standard. I have good reason to know, from intimate accounts of what has transpired at the Front, that the work of our aeroplane service has been equal to the best, and that in initiative, resourcefulness, and fortitude our men have been unsurpassed. (8)

* * *

In no part of the organisation which is necessary in modern warfare are mechanical skill, genius, foresight, constant effort, and industrial achievement more necessary than in the flying service. Canadians have joined

that service in large numbers, and I am proud to know that they have been found daring, resourceful and efficient. Any criticism of its organisation and management arouses, therefore, my deepest interest. Criticism founded upon reliable information as to conditions is healthy in stimulating the energies of those responsible for administration. If based on defective information it might give comfort to the enemy and bring unnecessary discouragement at home. In the Imperial War Cabinet we have recently had a full statement of conditions in the flying service as they were a year ago, and as they are to-day (April 17). The information thus afforded was very reassuring. There never had been any question that in personnel our flying service was superior to that of the enemy. The position disclosed to the Imperial War Cabinet may be briefly stated. The machines which we are turning out to-day are equal, if not superior, to any that the Germans have hitherto produced, and they are being produced at a rapidly increasing rate. The average efficiency of our machines now in use is equal to the average of the German machines. The average of casualties on the machines which have

been most severely criticised is less than the general average on all our machines. But a most important fact to realise and to remember is this—the British Air Service is undertaking extensive duties of vital importance to operations in the field, duties which are not being carried on, and never have been attempted—at least to anything like the same extent—by the German Air Service. A more extensive service in the air thus carried on for essential purposes must inevitably be attended with increased losses ; and the real question is as to the value of the information thus obtained when compared with the loss sustained in acquiring it. In this question the military authorities entertain no doubt. The casualties among officers are necessarily great, because the proportion of officers in the air service is very much larger than in the other services. I put forward these considerations because unfounded rumour or criticism, tending to discourage the spirit of British airmen, is detrimental, and should not be continued. (17)

CHAPTER VIII

THE WAR STIMULUS OF INDUSTRY

THIS is a war in which applied science and the mechanical arts are relied on to a greater extent than in any previous war. It became necessary to organise not only regiments but the industrial resources of the country. When the Minister of Militia was asked by the Imperial Government in August, 1914, to place a certain order for shells urgently required by the War Office, he concluded that they could be produced as effectively and expeditiously in Canada as elsewhere. A committee was formed for the purpose. Manufacturers were called together and asked to undertake the work. Little by little the industries in the country understood that the manufacture of shells could be undertaken in Canada. Confidence in our ability for the purpose was established, and to-day Canada is capable of producing more than a million shells per month. The present production

would undoubtedly be greater if larger orders had been placed at an earlier date, but the Shell Committee had power only to give orders within the limits prescribed by the British Government. The war's requirements will probably call for increased production in Canada, and the manufacture of field guns is under consideration. All such matters are now controlled by the recently established Ministry of Munitions of Great Britain, whose representatives are in Canada for the purpose of utilising still further our resources.

During the past twelve months (October 1915) Canada's capacity to produce supplies and articles of almost every character that can be required for war purposes has been repeatedly urged upon the attention of the British and Allied Governments, both by cable and by personal interview during my recent visit, when I conferred, on several occasions, with the Director of Contracts of the War Office. I found him and other officials whom I met disposed to give every possible consideration to the productive capacity of Canada. Occasionally we have thought that, owing to lack of knowledge on the part of British departments, Canadians have not had

sufficient opportunity to undertake orders placed elsewhere. Considering, however, the enormous industrial resources of the United States as compared with those of Canada, I was gratified to learn that while the orders placed by the War Office in the United States have been very large, amounting during the first eleven months of the war to one hundred million pounds, those placed in Canada have reached a total of nearly forty-eight million pounds during the same period. Having regard to all considerations that must be taken into account—the necessity of ensuring prompt filling of orders on an enormous scale, the very extensive facilities available in the United States for such purposes, the overpowering urgency which confronted those who were responsible, the vital necessity of the earliest possible delivery of supplies on which men's lives depended—you will agree that the comparison of these figures affords no reason for concluding that the resources of this Dominion were overlooked by the British Government.

New industries such as the production of toluol and other articles necessary in the manufacture of munitions have been commenced and are now well established. Other

new industries are in contemplation, and the lessons thus learned have given to the Canadian producers and manufacturers a renewed and wider confidence in their ability to compete with the world. (12)

CHAPTER IX

EMPIRE RESOURCES FOR EMPIRE PRODUCERS

THE possession of so vast a heritage as is comprised within the empire imposes corresponding responsibilities which we cannot fulfil unless we possess the vision and imagination to grasp its immense possibilities. In Canada we have not yet reached a reasonable comprehension of our resources, or of the means by which and the purpose for which they could be utilised for development and progress. The Western plains of Canada, capable of producing a food supply more than sufficient for the needs of the United Kingdom, are mere potential and not actual assets until they are utilised for production by the labour of the settler. So it is of all the vast natural resources now at our command and awaiting our effort to their development. (18)

* * *

[Unanimous Resolution of the Imperial War Conference, April 25, 1917 :

“ Having regard to the experience obtained in the present war, this Conference records its opinion that the safety of the empire and the necessary development of its component parts, require prompt and attentive consideration, as well as concerted action, with regard to the following matters :

- “ (1) The production of an adequate food supply and arrangements for its transportation when and where required, under any conditions that may reasonably be anticipated.
- “ (2) The control of natural resources available within the empire, especially those that are of an essential character for necessary national purposes, whether in peace or in war.
- “ (3) The economical utilisation of such natural resources through processes of manufacture carried on within the empire.

“ The Conference commends to the consideration of the Governments summoned thereto the enactment of such legislation as may assist this purpose.”]

I proposed this resolution at the Conference, and at the request of the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom it was brought into the

Imperial War Cabinet and discussed there. It was unanimously adopted, both by the Imperial War Cabinet and by the Imperial War Conference.

It is beyond question that when this war broke out, the Germans were utilising for their own purposes, their own national purposes, the building up of their industries, natural resources which were to be found in many parts of our empire, and in some instances natural resources which could not be obtained in the same abundance and of the same quality anywhere else.

I venture to think, and I have stated in the United Kingdom, that Germany had a better knowledge and conception of the natural resources of the Overseas Dominions of this empire than were to be found in the United Kingdom before the war. I have no doubt of that whatever ; and if you had the opportunity of hearing what was recounted to me by men from other Dominions of the empire, you would have no doubt of the truth of what I have to say.

I will give one incident with regard to our own country which was brought to my attention the day I left Canada. The president of a mineral company that has mineral resources

in the island of Newfoundland told me that about two months before the war he was in Germany and had occasion to call upon one of the managers of the Krupps. Reference was made to these mineral resources, and the gentleman to whom I have referred spoke of their development.

The manager corrected him in some respect as to their development, or at least some question arose. To his surprise, the manager rang a bell, called in a clerk, and soon the clerk placed before them a plan of the workings at Belle Isle which not only showed the workings as they were when my friend left Canada a month or two before, but even showed the developments which had taken place during the time of his absence.

That gives one an idea of the thoroughness with which the Germans follow up all the natural resources of this empire and of the means by which they bring it about.

We have resources so absolutely abundant within this empire that we need not fear any effort Germany may make to dominate the world commercially or industrially after the war. But I have absolutely no doubt that that effort will be made by the Germans, and, indeed, there is the most reliable information

that systematic arrangements for that purpose are being carried on in Germany to-day.

If we have anything like the same resourcefulness, the same thoroughness, the same self-confidence as that which they have put into their efforts in the past, and will put into their efforts in the future, we have absolutely nothing whatever to fear. The resources of this empire are beyond all comparison greater than any that Germany can command. She cannot dominate the world commercially or industrially any more than she can dominate it by her military power. (21)

* * *

The next resolution (of the Imperial War Conference) to which I call attention is one concerning Imperial preference. This resolution was brought forward by Mr. Massey, being submitted in the first instance at the Imperial War Conference, and afterwards with some amendments approved by the Imperial War Cabinet.

[Unanimous resolution of the Imperial War Conference, April 26, 1917 :

“The time has arrived when all possible encouragement should be given to the de-

velopment of Imperial resources, and especially to making the empire independent of other countries in respect of food supplies, raw materials, and essential industries. With these objects in view this Conference expresses itself in favour of :

- “ (1) The principle that each part of the Empire, having due regard to the interests of our Allies, shall give specially favourable treatment and facilities to the produce and manufactures of other parts of the empire.
- “ (2) Arrangements by which intending emigrants from the United Kingdom may be induced to settle in countries under the British flag.”]

I shall say at once that this resolution does not necessarily propose, or even look to, any change in the fiscal arrangements of the United Kingdom. It does not involve taxation of food ; it does not involve taxation of anything. As far as the fiscal system of the United Kingdom is concerned, I followed when in England precisely the same course that I have carried out in this Parliament (of Canada) and in this country—I decline to interfere in matters which are the subject of

concern in the United Kingdom. I decline to invite them to make changes in their fiscal policy.

These matters are within their control, as our fiscal policy is within our control. And I would go farther and say that the people of Canada would not desire the people of the United Kingdom to change their fiscal policy for the purpose of giving the preference to the producers of this country especially, if the proposed fiscal changes should involve any injustice, should be regarded as oppressive by any portion of the people of the United Kingdom.

But what this proposal looks to, as I understand it, is this: We can, within this empire, have better and cheaper facilities of communication than we have enjoyed up to the present time. That, I believe, is the line along which the change indicated will proceed.

The question of transportation has been a very live one, a very important one, to the producers of this country, especially those of the Western Provinces. We know that before the commencement of the war, the cost of transportation across the Atlantic increased twofold or threefold. There was sometimes

a dearth of ships. I hope and believe that there will be concerted action and co-operation between the Government of the United Kingdom and the Governments of the Overseas Dominions, by which speedier, better and more economical transportation will be provided between the Mother Country and the Overseas Dominions and between the Overseas Dominions themselves.

So that in that light I am confident that the resolution that was passed by the Conference will receive favourable consideration by the people of Canada. (21)

* * *

There is reason to believe that when the war is ended there will be at least a threefold attempt on the part of Germany for world supremacy. In the first place, there will be an attempt to develop industry on a vast scale through a State organisation supplying raw material at a cost which would place Germany in a more favourable position than any other nation in the world. Secondly, we may have to meet a State organisation which will provide transportation under such conditions that German productions can reach all the markets of the world easily and cheaply. The third thing we may have to

meet is a State organisation, or an organisation with the power of the State behind it, which will attempt in other ways to seize and control the markets of the world for German productions. It is just as well that we should take thought of these matters now. The position of our empire would be unassailable if we only realised the extent of our resources and found out the best way to use them. There must be co-operation between the Government of the Mother Country and the Governments of the Overseas Dominions, and for this the Dominions, as they had shown by their part in the war, were fully prepared.

I submit that our natural resources ought to be conserved for the general national benefit, that they ought to be controlled within the empire for essential national purposes, that their economic utilisation through processes of manufacture ought to be carried on to the greatest possible extent within the empire and not abroad, and that they should not be controlled, diverted, or exploited for the upbuilding of industries in countries with which we are now at war. There is no comparison between the resources at our command and those available to Ger-

many. If she should win in the final contest it will be because we were incapable or indifferent, because she had greater foresight, a firmer national purpose, and a more determined national spirit. I hope that in these matters of great and common concern there will be a clearer vision and truer conception than in the past, and that the effort and sacrifice so enormous and so regrettable which this war has entailed will not have been in vain. (18)

CHAPTER X

IS THE BRITISH RACE DECADENT ?

FOR a century we have had no war which threatened the existence of our empire ; for fifty years we have not been involved in any really great war. During that time the democracies of the empire have made marvellous strides in the development of their material resources. Under such conditions the call of the market place has been sometimes clamorous and insistent, especially in new communities like Canada or Australia. The war cannot fail to influence most profoundly the whole future of the world, the ideals of all civilised nations. It has already most profoundly influenced the people of this empire. The great increase of wealth, the wonderful development of material prosperity did not fail to have their influence ; and no one could deny that this progress was in itself a good thing. The standards of life for the people were raised and their

comfort increased. It is not wealth at which we should rail. Rome fell indeed in the time of her wealth, but it was because she made wealth her god. War came suddenly upon us when all the nations of the empire were much concerned in these questions of material development; but we rejoice that throughout the empire men have realised most fully during the past twelve months that there is something greater than material prosperity, something greater even than life itself. The national spirit everywhere responded instantly to the call and to the need. It made itself manifest as a spirit of self-sacrifice, of co-operation, of mutual helpfulness, of highest patriotic endeavour. This is as it should be, for the character of a nation is not only tested but formed in stress and trial, through sacrifice and consecration to duty. (8)

* * *

The German Government has a wonderful intelligence system, and most interesting information was communicated to me in the year 1912 as to its extensive methods of espionage in Great Britain. Apparently the German Secret Service acquired more in-

formation than its Government was able to digest. Ireland was to rise in revolt. The self-governing Dominions would stand aloof. There would be uprisings in India, and the British Islands must stand alone in the day of trial. The German Government evidently believed that the British race had become decadent, that the ancient valour and fighting spirit were of the past, that the reputed strength of the empire was a sham and that we must go down before her powerful attack because we were too selfish, too commercial, and too cowardly to justify our continued existence. Do the plains of Belgium and the hills of France tell the story of decadence? The annals of the British Army disclose no more heroic record. Have the self-governing Dominions stood aloof, and has India risen in revolt? From every portion of this far-flung empire has come the same answer, and it will still come until this war is brought to an honourable and triumphant conclusion. Yet on page 137 of the English translation of General Bernhardt's book, published in 1913, I find this reference to the self-governing Dominions: "They can be completely ignored so far as concerns any European theatre of war." (3)

To those who, as in Germany, believed that the spirit of the British people was wholly absorbed in material affairs, that the race had become decadent and that it lacked the resolution and self-sacrifice to maintain its existence, its power and its influence at any cost, the enlistment of 2,500,000 men in the British Isles within a year came as a distinct surprise and even shock. Not less amazing to them has been the spirit evoked in the Oversea nations, in India and in the Crown Colonies. The Dominions have been as prompt as the Motherland to answer the call of duty, and from all the races enjoying liberty and just government under the British flag there has been the same splendid response. (11)

* * *

In this historic province (New Brunswick), founded in the first instance upon the devotion and self-sacrifice of the Loyalists, there was never any doubt as to the response of the people. In New Brunswick as elsewhere you have given of your best and you will continue to give. It has been my privilege in France and in Great Britain during the past summer to meet some of New Brunswick's gallant sons, who have served with

marked distinction at the Front, and to congratulate them, as I congratulate you, (the people of New Brunswick) upon the splendid valour, resourcefulness, and heroism which has marked their action under the fiercest test. For a hundred years Canada has been involved in no war which really tried and tested the spirit of her people. During that century the development of our country, the peaceful avocations of everyday life, had engrossed the minds and energies of our people ; but when the war did come the descendants of those loyal and adventurous men who laid the foundations of our country proved that they had not forgotten the traditions and the spirit of their ancestors. (II)

* * *

I have come far across the ocean to visit our men at the Front and in England, and especially the wounded in the hospitals ; and this has been an inspiration in itself. To many soldiers, officers and men, from these islands, from Canada, from Australia, from New Zealand, I have spoken ; and among them all I have found a wonderful spirit of determination and of patience, a spirit of consecration. There is indeed a splendid

unity of purpose among all these men gathered from the four corners of the earth. (8)

* * *

I do not think that any Canadian, or indeed any Briton or Frenchman, could look upon the valley (of Ypres) without being very greatly moved. In the country toward which we looked, around Ypres, following the sweep of the hills to Messines on the right and another town on the left, we were told how many had fallen and found their graves within ten months. When we remember that all this is due to the insensate and criminal ambition, to the lust for power and prestige, of perhaps not more than a score of men ; when we recall the efforts that Sir Edward Grey made, almost successfully, to stay the hands of the German Emperor on the eve of the outbreak of war ; when we remember the pledge that Sir Edward Grey then gave ; when we realise that Austria at the last moment was willing to draw back, and that the mobilisation ordered by Germany without any further conference with the other European powers brought on a war which, I believe, was intended from the first, surely all of us will agree that the awful cemetery of the Ypres valley will be

a monument of everlasting infamy to the memory of the men who forced this war upon Europe and upon the world.

Briton and Frenchman may well be stirred in looking down upon that valley. I hope there will never come a day when any Canadian can look forth upon it without the deepest emotion. While we realise that the achievements of the First Canadian Division have perhaps been more fully told than those of any British troops during the war, still we know the story has not been completely told—that perhaps it has not been half told. Picture to yourself for a moment the condition. The Turcos and Algerians, who were holding that line next to the Canadians, veritably believed that the deluge which overwhelmed them had really come from the lower regions, from hell itself. No one who has not been through the hospitals can realise the effect of that gas attack. In the hospitals I have seen thousands of Britons and Canadians, Australians and New Zealanders, and the only men in whom I ever found any depression were the few that I met who had experienced and survived the full severity of this gas attack. It must have been horrible in its intensity. No one can

wonder that the division on the Canadian left broke and yielded up the line under the veritable impression, to which I have alluded, that all the powers of the lower regions were conspiring with the Germans for their destruction. And then came a terrible test to the Canadian troops, men taken, mark you, from the civil avocations of life and having had no previous experience of war. Then came a test to them such as perhaps was never before applied to any troops in the world. And those who prophesied that our race was decadent, let them remember that the Canadians stood firm not for hours but for days. Men lay down in agony under the gas which was poured upon them, but they did not retire, they held on; and from those who are best qualified to judge, from the military commanders of the British and French forces, from Lord Kitchener, from the King, from the President of the French Republic, I have had but one word as to what the Canadians did on that day; they saved the situation for the empire and for the Allies. (10)

CHAPTER XI

OUR FRIENDS OF THE UNITED STATES

THIS war will inevitably bring more closely together the British Commonwealth and the great kindred commonwealth which is Canada's nearest neighbour. It has always been my hope and desire that Canada, united to the United Kingdom by ties of blood and allegiance, and united also to the great kindred nation to the south by ties of constantly increasing commercial and social intercourse, might be a link between the empire and the great republic. No one would rejoice more than the people I represent if, as a result of this war, the great American Republic and our great British Commonwealth should be drawn more closely together. (17)

* * *

The same elements, although in somewhat different proportions, constitute the population of the United States and that of Canada.

Although your country (the United States) has reached a more advanced stage of development than ours, yet there is marked similarity in relative conditions. In their vast extent of territory rivalling that of Europe, in their situation fronting on the two great highways of the world, in the amazing abundance and variety and in the character of their natural resources, the two countries bear a striking resemblance. Great problems of national development, such as the assimilation of immigrants from countries which do not enjoy democratic institutions, the regulation of transportation, the development and use of inland waterways, the control of public utilities, the conservation and utilisation of the public domain, of water-powers and other natural resources, must be considered and solved both at Washington and at Ottawa. In each country there is a federal system under which the distribution of legislative and executive power, between the federal authority on the one hand and the state or provincial authority on the other, necessarily involves judicial determination as to the validity of executive or legislative action in either sphere. Then there is the great controlling factor of a common language and

literature. Each country traces its jurisprudence to the same source. On either side of the boundary which is at once unguarded and invisible the national life finds its inspiration in the like ideals of democracy. It is true that there are tariffs ; but during the past decade we manifested our neighbourly spirit by purchasing your products to the extent of three thousand millions of dollars. I should also add that we paid for them ; and as a final proof of our friendship we have recently borrowed from you one hundred and twenty-five million dollars of the sum thus paid. During your civil war some 60,000 Canadians crossed the border to fight in what they conceived to be the battle for freedom. Our law permits enlistment of none except British subjects and persons actually domiciled in Canada, but it is said that noble and adventurous spirits from this side occasionally practise upon the credulity of Canadian recruiting officers. We have exchanged immigrants both east and west ; among them are college and railway presidents, commercial magnates, divines, physicians, jurists and scientists of eminence, incipient or otherwise. The social ties between the two countries are very close and

intimate, and the arrows of the little winged divinity shoot ceaselessly across the frontier. In short the citizens of these two neighbouring and kindred commonwealths have developed a reciprocal understanding, good-will and respect so complete that it would be difficult to find a parallel in history. (15)

* * *

I have seldom been in England in recent years without visiting a little village, within the verge of the weald of Kent, where for many generations lived those whose name I bear. We left England in 1638, and for a century and a quarter we made our home in New England. For more than a century and a half we have lived in Canada. In all three countries there still dwell those of our name and kin. Chiefly of New England ancestry were those who colonised western Nova Scotia; and the influence of that ancestry is still unmistakable. The colonists who settled down in the last half of the eighteenth century to the task of converting from a wilderness to a garden the beautiful and fertile Annapolis Valley brought with them not only the New England spirit, the New England ideal and the New England conscience, but also the New England know-

ledge, experience and instinct of self-government. Up to 1878 the system of local self-government in town meetings and through presentments of the grand jury was practically that which had been brought from New England a century before. The New England schoolmaster was manifest in the good education of those by whom the town records were written in the earlier years. As our country was thinly populated schools were almost impossible at first; and in examining the records of a century ago it is curious to note the change in diction, in caligraphy and in spelling which forty or fifty years had brought about. But notwithstanding lack of opportunity the tradition as to education was not forgotten. Schools were gradually established and improved. In some districts a notable schoolmaster exercised a profound influence which impressed itself upon the entire community for a generation. Eventually an excellent system of free schools came into being.

The associations first established by kinship and by a community of ideals were not lessened in later days. Between the Maritime Provinces of Eastern Canada and the New England States there has been during

the past fifty years a very close relation. Our young men and young women came to find employment in New England factories. Thousands of Nova Scotia fishermen sailed out of Gloucester. Many of our boys were educated at Harvard or at Yale, and on the other hand our own seats of learning have had students from the United States. New England tourists thronged our country during the summer months. During your Civil War many thousand Canadians fought under the Stars and Stripes in New England regiments. (13)

* * *

From ocean to ocean across this continent runs a boundary line of nearly four thousand miles entirely unguarded on either side. Upon the Great Lakes for more than a century the armed forces of each country have been reduced to a point which forbids the thought of aggression. The agreement which accomplished so great a result was made between Great Britain and the United States fifty years before the Canadian Federation came into being. It is embodied in a few letters exchanged between their diplomatic representatives and it can be terminated upon six months' notice. But for

a hundred years it has held good, and I believe it will always hold good. Does it not mark an impressive epoch in the relations of the two countries?

During the past half-century or more those relations have on the whole been intimate and friendly; during the past twenty-five years they have steadily improved, and I believe they were never more firmly founded on true understanding and sincere good-will than at present. At times situations have arisen which proved difficult and delicate if not dangerous; they demanded forbearance, restraint and the most attentive consideration of the other's view-point. All honour to the statesmen who so guided the affairs of either country as to prevent the awful calamity of war between two kindred people. Consider for a moment the course which has been taken. From 1870 up to the present time, on how many occasions have differences important and sometimes acute been composed by resort to the peaceful arbitrament of an international tribunal! At Geneva in 1872, at Halifax in 1877, at Paris in 1893, again at Paris in 1899, at London in 1903 and at The Hague in 1910; on each occasion judgment was given by a great

international court to whom each country had submitted for consideration and determination the claims which it put forward and the national interests therein involved. In some cases the decision was in your favour, in other cases it was for us, and in certain instances there was partial success for each; but on every occasion each country, by the example which it gave to the world and by the influence of that example, gained for itself a more conspicuous victory in the light of history, as it must yet be written, than if resort had been had to the arbitrament of the sword and the most signal success had attended its warlike operations. I beg you to consider what might have been spared to humanity during the past sixteen months, and in many months yet to come, if such examples had been followed; and I ask what stronger or more earnest effort could Sir Edward Grey have made for that purpose? (14)

* * *

The justice of the Allies' cause is generally understood and recognised among our kinsmen in the great neighbouring nation, and we are proud of their sympathy. A representative of the German Government in that

country has recently thought it necessary to discuss the Monroe Doctrine as it may affect Canada. That doctrine, as you know, does not embody any principle of international law, but is a policy proclaimed nearly one hundred years ago by the Government of the United States. For the reason that it is a policy of the United States that country alone has the right to determine its scope and its limitations. As the policy of a great friendly nation, the Monroe Doctrine is entitled to every respect; but Canada does not seek shelter behind it in this war. The people of this Dominion are eager and determined to take their part in a struggle which involves the destiny of their empire and indeed its very existence. They are quite prepared and willing to assume all responsibilities which that action involves, and they have a reasonable confidence in Canada's ability to defend her territory. (2)

* * *

The fact that citizens of the United States are to fight side by side with the soldiers of our empire cannot but have a splendid influence on the future of the two nations. Although their relations have been good in the past for many years, it must do much to

wipe out certain memories, and I am sure that the Canadian forces at the front will be delighted to fight side by side with those from the great Republic to the south.

There are in the Canadian expeditionary forces more than 9,000 men who give their next of kin as resident in the United States of America. I do not say that all these men have come from the United States, some of them may have come to this country leaving their relatives or next of kin on the other side of the line; but 9,000 of them were undoubtedly born in the allegiance of the United States and are now fighting in the Canadian expeditionary forces.

But, although the United States has entered the war, we do not know how long it will be before the tremendous power of that nation can be transmitted into military effort. It cannot be done in a few weeks; it cannot be done fully in a few months. We know that from our own experience. The British know it from their experience, and therefore it must not lead to any relaxation of effort on the part of the empire or on the part of any of the Allied nations. (21)

* * *

It would be impossible to over-estimate

the influence upon the world's destiny of the entrance of the United States into the war. It has been wittily said that the United States may be regarded as a Monarchy under an elective King and the British Empire a Republic under an hereditary President—and it is perfectly true that the President has much greater executive power than King. In all essentials the ideals of government are the same in both countries. At any rate the spirit of the two nations is the same in this great conflict. Thousands of American citizens enrolled in our forces have fought gallantly and heroically side by side with Canadians, and it will be a glorious day when the Union Jack and Old Glory advance together in the same cause on freedom's battlefield. It has often been said that the attitude of the United States was decided by purely materialistic considerations. I believe most sincerely that wealth has no greater influence in the United States than in other nations ; and further, that no nation in the world is more profoundly moved by ideals. A political tradition inherited for more than a hundred years would have prevented the United States from entering a European war for any other cause than that

of honour and right. United by the same democratic ideals, inspired by the same high purposes, co-operating unselfishly for the cause of humanity, the United States and the British Empire possess a power, moral and material, which command the future peace of the world, and I pray that those who guide the destinies of these two great commonwealths may exercise their power for this highest of all purposes. (18)

CHAPTER XII

THE GOSPEL OF FORCE

THERE are no more loyal and patriotic citizens of Canada than the people of German descent in all parts of our Dominion. Both in the east and in the west they have been earnest and active in endeavour and in aid. And it is particularly to be noted that citizens of German descent in Canada are a peace-loving people and averse to all forms of militarism. They thoroughly understand and appreciate the principles of democratic government ; they detest absolutism and abhor war. But if the teachings of the most advanced thinkers of Germany are to be regarded, and if the course of the German Government is to be considered as expressive of the national spirit, no such ideal animates the German people. Germany is disposed to dismiss with indifference, and even contempt, all proposals for settling international differences by peaceful methods. Indeed, the German Government

seems to consider any such proposals as expressly directed against Germany's interests, which, as they conceive, demand that her military power must inevitably be employed for her national development and advancement through the subjugation and humiliation of other nations and the appropriation of such of their possessions as she may find most useful for her purposes. This conception carries with it the ideal that in all the centuries to come brute force shall be the highest right; that the most powerful nation shall be a law to itself; that its treaties and obligations may be put aside when necessity arises, and that the national will shall alone be the judge of that necessity. If all the teachings of Christianity and all the ideals of modern civilisation point only to this result, mankind has not great reason to regard its ideals and standards as on a higher plane than those of the brute creation. Indeed, one should then say that man was made a little lower than the brutes.

No more? A monster, then, a dream,
A discord. Dragons of the prime,
That tare each other in their slime,
Were mellow music matched with him.

Such ideals are not helpful to humanity,

and the sooner they are dispelled and dismissed the better for the nation which entertains them and the better for the world. If this war was necessary for that purpose, let us not regret that it came when it did.

In common with the whole world, we fully recognise and appreciate the great qualities of the German people and all that they have achieved in the highest spheres of human activity and usefulness. With them we desired no contest, except in generous rivalry for the advancement of all that is best in modern civilisation. With them we have no quarrel, save that they have forsaken the cause of liberty and democracy in rendering an unquestioning obedience to the militarist and arrogant autocracy to which they have surrendered the control of their national life. (5)

* * *

The habit of German thought toward problems of government is entirely different from and indeed antagonistic to the conception which is entertained in English-speaking countries. They theorise upon the weakness of a government, such as ours, subject through responsible ministers to the will of Parliament and the control of the

people. The Emperor's advisers are selected by himself and are responsible to him alone. It is the German ideal that the individual exists for the State and not the State for the individual. They sincerely believe that the German ideal is the true one, and that the systems of democratic government which prevail in English-speaking countries are of a temporary and evanescent type. Their great modern historian has declared that just as the greatness of Germany is to be found in the governance of Germany by Prussia, so the greatness and good of the world is to be found in the predominance there of German culture and of the German mind—in a word, of the German character.

The German colonies are state undertakings. British colonies and dominions have been built up throughout the world rather by the free and adventurous spirit of our race than by any state effort. Indeed, in some instances they have sprung into being against the will and without the encouragement or assistance of the British Government. The German colonies are governed, as Germany is governed, by the will of those who control the State and not by the consent or will of the people. The great Overseas Dominions

of the British Empire have been granted, not as of grace but of right, the same privileges of representative self-government as those enjoyed by the people of the British Islands; In the one case there is the strength and unity which freedom brings; in the other case, the weakness which autocracy develops. (3)

* * *

The German people have been taught that war is a national duty and indeed a necessity of national development. According to their view, other nations had been spreading their power and influence throughout the world while the German people were engrossed in the higher considerations of philosophy and religion, so that now the German Empire must win by the sword that which it had omitted to secure before the German race was consolidated under Prussian dominance. Their most influential writers treat all proposals to establish international courts of arbitration as designed to prevent the legitimate expansion of their empire. In the introduction to one of his latest works, General Bernhardi, in speaking of international arbitration, uses this language :

“We Germans, therefore, must not be deceived by such official efforts to maintain the peace. Arbitration courts must evidently always consider the existing judicial and territorial rights. For a rising State, which has not yet attained the position due to it, which is in urgent need of colonial expansion, and can only accomplish it chiefly at the cost of others, these treaties therefore augur ill at once as being apt to prevent a rearrangement of power.”

And again :

“If we wish to gain the position in the world that is due to us, we must rely on our sword, renounce all weakly visions of peace, and eye the dangers surrounding us with resolute and unflinching courage.”

And again :

“Every State would sin against itself if it did not employ its power when the right moment has arrived.”

And again :

“Germany’s further development as a world-power is possible only after a final settlement with England.”

Especially, the German people have been taught that the British Empire stands in their way and must be dealt with at an

opportune moment as Denmark, Austria and France were in turn overthrown. Germany is, beyond question, the greatest military power in the world. The organised military forces of our empire are absolutely insignificant in comparison ; but the conditions of our existence make it necessary that Great Britain should be, beyond question, the greatest naval power. The ocean pathways are the veins and arteries of the empire, and when these are cut or obstructed it cannot continue to exist. Naval power is not in the least essential to the national existence of Germany, yet she has proclaimed that her future is on the sea. What that betokens may be gathered from her past upon land. Notwithstanding every attempt by British statesmen to bring about a better understanding, Germany has carried out persistently and defiantly a policy which was openly put forward and heralded as a challenge to British naval power.

The Prussian military oligarchy dominates Germany, and the people have become obsessed with the religion of valour and the doctrine that might is the highest and indeed the only right. Public opinion, as we understand it, is a force almost unknown and

hardly realised there. There is practically no public opinion other than the Government's opinion. Moreover, a nation that has been consolidated through war, and that has been continuously victorious in its wars for more than fifty years and has astonished the world by its military prowess, a nation whose people have never experienced the horrors of invasion to which they have subjected other countries, probably becomes intoxicated with the idea of continued victory. A salutary lesson will assuredly be learned by the German people before the sword is sheathed in this struggle. We realise that a great task has been forced upon our empire, but it has not been lightly undertaken. (4)

* * *

In this struggle against the Prussian oligarchy and against its ideals, Canada, in common with all the empire, is prepared to fight, and intends to fight, to the death. Reverses may come, sacrifices will be inevitable, there may be days of doubt and even of gloom; but the fortitude, the determination and the resourcefulness which did not fail the people of this empire in the storm and peril of more than a century ago and which have maintained the northern

half of this continent as part of the empire, are still our common inheritance and will not fail us now.

There is but one way to deal effectively with the Prussian gospel of force and violence and the Prussian ideal of absolutism. It must be smashed utterly and completely. The sooner that is accomplished the better for the German people and for all the nations. (5)

CHAPTER XIII

CONDITIONS OF PEACE

ALL war is tragedy and this war the greatest tragedy the world has ever known. We all pray for the day when

The roaring of war shall cease upon the air,
Falling of tears and all the voices of sorrow ;

but it is vain to cry Peace, Peace, when there is no peace. The ideals involved in this conflict are wholly irreconcilable, and until one of them finally prevails no peace can be enduring. (14)

* * *

I speak in no despondent mood, but as one disposed to face realities. The enemy are staking everything upon this last throw of the dice. All their energies are being concentrated upon this year's campaign, whether on land or on sea. Any flagging of our spirit, any lack of effort—disastrous at any time—would be fatal now. Consider

any sacrifice or self-denial, however stern, which the need may impose upon those at home, how do these compare with the privation, the danger, the suffering, and, too often, the supreme sacrifice of those who hold the lines in France or elsewhere in the great theatres of war? If any of us should chance to be despondent let him go for confidence to the men in the trenches. If for a moment he lacks heart, let him go to the wounded in the hospitals for courage. If we seek a standard for the nation's spirit, let us remember the discipline and heroism of the men who lined up on the deck of the *Tyndareus* when she was sinking.

The German people are fighting with desperation under the belief, engendered and fostered by their military autocracy, that we seek to crush Germany and to terminate her national existence. No such purpose ever was or could be in the mind of the British people. It is impossible to crush, in that sense, a nation of 70,000,000. Beyond comparison Germany was at the beginning of the war the most powerful military State in the world's history. Any idea of successful aggression against her was unthinkable. Confident in that strength, the German nation, following

blindly the behests of militarism, entered upon this war for world domination. For the health of Germany's soul her people must be taught before it ends that military aggression is neither a legitimate nor a profitable business enterprise ; that world domination is impossible ; that treaties are sacred ; that the public conscience of the world will not permit the rape of small, weak nations, will not tolerate the horrible methods of barbarity which have characterised the passage of the German armies and their occupancy of conquered territory ; and, finally, that there is a world conscience which commands and can arouse a force sufficient to subdue any nation that runs amok. The lesson must be thoroughly learned by the German people, or the Allied nations will have taken up arms in vain. Let Germany so set her house in order that a change of ideal and of purpose can be relied on ; let her make reparation for the evil she has wrought ; let her give adequate guarantees for the future. Thus, but not otherwise, can she have peace. For this, but not to crush her, the Allied nations are fighting. (16)

* * *

One peculiar trait of the British nation is

its faculty of self-criticism during times of stress. This criticism, these internal disagreements, this occasional political unrest, however, do not indicate any real lack of unity or determination. They are characteristic of the race, they are inseparable from the experience of a people who conduct government in the open under democratic institutions. They are but the mists which hover about, and perhaps for the moment obscure, the granite summit of the nation's purpose. Across that purpose there lies no pathway to an inconclusive peace. We fight for an abiding peace, not for a truce.

I have some just claim to know the spirit of my countrymen; and I most solemnly affirm that among us there was absolutely no thought of aggression or attack on any nation. In this the spirit of our Dominion exemplified that of the whole empire. We in Canada were entirely masters of our own destiny; but just as in the Motherland when the hour struck there was no wavering and no waiting, so in Canada the decision was never for a moment in doubt. Our resolve is as fixed and unshaken to-day as at the first, and whatever loss or sacrifice we may still have to bear we will not waver or falter.

Nearly two years ago (April 1915) the First Canadian Division, composed of untried men gathered hurriedly from the ordinary avocations of life throughout our country, were put to the supreme test at Ypres. Men never faced more terrible odds or more horrible methods of warfare. They lost heavily but their ground was held, the day was saved and the path to Calais was not opened. It was suggested that on the anniversary of that day flags should fly at half-mast throughout our Dominion in memory of our glorious dead. But we held that memory worthy of a truer honour. On that revered anniversary, never to be forgotten by Canadians, our flag flew at mast-head from ocean to ocean in solemn but proud remembrance of those who had fallen, and in testimony of the unconquerable spirit which shall animate the Canadian nation to the end. (15)

* * *

We cannot yet foresee the end of this conflict, but there can be only one conclusion, however long delayed. To overthrow the most powerful and highly organised system of militarism that ever existed must necessarily entail a terrible and perhaps a protracted struggle. We have not glorified

war or sought to depart from the paths of peace; but our hearts are firm and united in an inflexible determination that the cause for which we have drawn the sword shall be maintained to an honourable and triumphant issue. (3)

* * *

Our fortitude and our endurance must equal all demands that the future shall make upon us. All that our fathers fought for and achieved; all that we have inherited and accomplished, our institutions and liberties, our destiny as a nation, the existence of our empire, all are at stake in this contest. (2)

CHAPTER XIV

LESSONS OF THE WAR

ONE hundred and sixty-six years ago the British standard "with sea-foam still wet" was planted on the shores of Chebucto Bay [Nova Scotia], where it will ever float. In the great testing of our national spirit, the descendants of those who planted that standard have not been found wanting. Speaking in this city nearly a year ago, I dwelt upon the justice of the cause for which our empire had drawn the sword. It is a deep satisfaction to realise that every subsequent relation, every development, every event, all that has since transpired, makes clearer the truth that we are fighting against prepared and deliberate aggression, that not without dishonour could we have forborne this quarrel, and that the cause which we maintain transcends the interests of our empire, concerns the ideals of democracy

and humanity, and closely touches the future of the world.

The physical condition of our empire, comprising vast territories and great populations scattered throughout the world, made the security of ocean communication an imperative necessity of its existence. Thus the sea power of Great Britain was an essential of defence, but was never designed for aggressive purposes. No such aggression could have been attempted except by the establishment of vast military forces, and public opinion, not only in the British Isles but elsewhere, was warmly opposed to any such policy. Indeed, when the statesmen and the military experts of Great Britain, in view of the obvious aggressive designs of Germany, considered during recent years what military aid Great Britain could send to the Continent if war were forced upon us, the maximum suggested was 160,000 men, a force which proved so absurdly inadequate when the time for action came that one wonders how it could have been deemed possible to wage under such conditions a war which must threaten our national existence. The lack of adequate military preparation is the most striking

evidence that our empire desired peace and harboured no aggressive purpose. (12)

* * *

An empire prepared to despatch an expeditionary force of from 80,000 to 160,000 was naturally confronted with a mighty task when it became evident that victory would depend upon the ability to organise a force twenty times greater. It is possible that during the past year more might have been done. On the other hand, considering the magnitude of the task, great things have been accomplished. To enlist, organise and train an army of 2,500,000 is a tremendous undertaking; to equip it and to provide the necessary armament and munitions is a still greater task. The latter would not have been possible except for the possession of great industrial resources both in Great Britain and in the Overseas Dominions, coupled with the control of the seas, which was fortunately secured in the early months of the war by the British Navy, strongly aided by the navies of the Allied nations. In all past wars such control has been a determining factor, and I for one am prepared to place it in the balance against all military successes which have been achieved

by the enemy nations and to affirm that the scale turns in our favour. (12)

* * *

Let no one, however, under-estimate the strength of the forces which are arrayed against us. The Allied nations can win, but there must be a supreme effort ; and nowhere is that effort more necessary than within our empire. We may not always have realised the absolute truth of our words when we speak of the existence of our empire being at stake. This empire cannot long continue unless the Allied cause is victorious. And the future, not of the Allied nations alone but of the whole world, is in the balance, for we are fighting against the recrudescence of an ideal absolutely destructive of all that Christianity and civilisation have taught us during the past two thousand years, the ideal that might makes right.

Moreover we are fighting against methods of warfare as barbarous as any recorded in history. The mass of evidence presented to the world by the report of Lord Bryce's Commission has not been widely distributed, and few realise how terrible are the incidents disclosed. A recent volume published by the Government of France, after a careful

investigation and based on the most convincing evidence, tells the same story. The genesis of these awful methods appears to have arisen in the conviction of the Prussian military autocracy that the victory of their armies was assured in whatever war they might undertake, and that the terrorism of the civil population in the countries which they invaded was both essential and justifiable for abbreviating the duration of the struggle. For fifty years war has been to the German people a source of territorial aggrandisement, wealth, prestige and power. They waged it on the territory of other nations, and were content to make it by design more terrible than ever before, because they believed their own soil would never feel its actual horrors. Prussian autocrats deliberately prepared for and embarked upon this war as a great national business enterprise, trusting to their ideals “might is right” and “woe to the conquered.” Where will they stand in the end when confronted with their own doctrine? (12)

* * *

[The Imperial War Conference on April 13, 1917, resolved that India should be fully represented at all future Imperial Con-

ferences; and on April 27, 1917, accepted the principle of reciprocity of treatment between India and the various Overseas Dominions, and recommended to the favourable consideration of the Governments concerned a Memorandum submitted on the position of Indians in the self-governing Dominions.]

As far as the representation of India is concerned, I am absolutely confident that it will be productive of good.

I found it of very great advantage in discussing matters of common concern to India and ourselves that we had the representatives of India at that Conference. I invited the members of the Conference to meet informally at the hotel at which I was staying, and we had a free, full and frank discussion of the whole situation in so far as the Overseas Dominions are concerned.

There have been matters of difference, matters sometimes of controversy, with South Africa, with Australia, with New Zealand, and on some occasions with Canada. We spoke with equal freedom, equal fairness, and, I hope, with equal moderation; and the net result was the resolution at which we arrived, which I have read and which had for its basis the idea that the self-respect of India

shall be maintained by an agreement that whatever measures we pass in regard to the emigration of Indians to Canada we shall also agree to in so far as the emigration or the passage of Canadians to India is concerned.

I do not think that any one in this House (Canadian House of Commons) can dispute the fairness of that proposal. There are some other matters which we discussed, upon which I need not dwell to-day. I see nothing but good in the presence of India at that Conference, and I am glad to believe that there will be no objection in this House or in this country to having that great dependency of the empire represented at future meetings.

India has been splendidly loyal in this war, and has contributed of her manhood and of her treasure for the purpose of enabling us to win this war.

We must take that all into account. Her civilisation is different from ours, it is more ancient, in some respects it may be said to be on a higher plane, perhaps. There is more of idealism in their civilisation, more perhaps of materialism in ours. I am not disposed to discuss the question as to whether one or the other is superior, but I do say that the Indian civilisation is entitled to our respect, and that

we must do our part in making the inhabitants of that great dependency of the empire feel that they are not treated with contumely or injustice by the people of any of the Overseas Dominions of the Empire. I believe that purpose will be carried out, I believe it will be materially assisted by the conference which we had with Indian representatives. (21)

* * *

The life of every people is in some measure bound up with the life of all others. One notable difference distinguishes the conditions of our civilisation from those of a thousand years ago. The moderns through their command of the forces of nature, their discoveries in physics and their development of the mechanical arts, have created means of transportation and communication which bring all the nations of the earth into more or less intimate touch and association. Henceforth no nation and indeed no continent can hope to play the rôle of hermit. The Australians at Gallipoli and the Canadians at Ypres were as truly fighting for their liberties—and in our belief for the liberties of the world—as if they had held the battle line within the territories of their respective Dominions.

Thus the nations have been brought so closely together that there is a certain community of national life throughout the world. Just as the citizen who fails to realise his duty of service to the State has not attained the highest conception of citizenship, so the nation which does not realise and fulfil its duty of service to the world has not reached the highest conception of national life.

As international relations become more intimate and more complex there is the greater need that public right shall be more accurately and authoritatively defined and that, as between the nations, it shall be enforced by sanctions corresponding to those which within the State put down, by the power of the national organisation, every violation of laws established for its orderly government. Let us at once admit that there has been no substantial progress towards a world-wide organisation through which the violence of a powerful nation, spurning all international tribunals and acting in despite of public right, may be effectually restrained and punished. As the establishment and enforcement of law within an organised civilised community depend in the final analysis upon the will of the people

and upon public opinion within that community, so the enforcement of public right through organisation of the nations prepared in advance must also depend upon the public opinion of the world. Upon the advance and development of that opinion must rest the hopes of those who look for a world tribunal, backed when necessary by world-wide force, for the restraint of an outlaw nation. Many voices admonish us that all this is idealistic and visionary, that the standards, conceptions and purposes of our present civilisation forbid the realisation of any such ideal, that there must be the death of this era and the birth of a new before humanity shall attain to so much self-mastery. All conjecture is idle, but to me it is certain as my own existence that modern civilisation will ultimately disintegrate and perish if it fails to achieve this ideal. In the work of humanity through all the ages can we point to anything permanent that is not founded on idealism? Let him who aspires to this or any great "far-off divine event" be of good cheer. The world shall yet say many times to the idealist "Galilean, thou hast conquered."

In pioneer days on this western continent,

before the machinery of law was established, the better elements of a community sometimes found it necessary to punish crime and suppress violence and disorder by concerted assumption and exercise of authority. In no other way could orderly standards of life be established and maintained and the moral conscience of communities asserted. Nations determined to uphold ideals of public right and to resist attempts at militarist domination may be concerned to co-operate in like manner for the preservation of peace, until they can erect and maintain a tribunal whose decrees in international differences shall be respected and enforced by the organised power of civilisation.

To us involved in the most terrible struggle that humanity has ever known—a struggle in which we have taken part of our own free will and because we realise the world-compelling considerations which its issues involve—the events of the past two years have brought both a lesson and an inspiration. Immersed in the purely peaceful problems of material progress and development, we were suddenly awakened by a call which brought to us an over-mastering conviction that there was something infinitely greater than the

work in which we had been so absorbed. That conviction penetrated the very soul of the nation; and with it came an inspiration which has enabled the Canadian people not only willingly but gladly to undertake responsibilities, to accept burdens, and to accomplish tasks, which two years ago would have been regarded as impossible and even inconceivable. (15)

CHAPTER XV

BRITISH IDEALS

THE ancient ceremonies by which I have been invested with your Freedom [of the City of London] carry us back to the olden days, and we remember that not many years after the conquest of 1066 your predecessors wrested from the Conqueror a charter which declared that they should be deemed "law-worthy." Love of liberty and insistence upon the rights of the people, memorable everywhere within these islands, have especially distinguished the citizens of London ; nor do I forget that the same qualities have always characterised the people of a neighbouring county within the quiet of whose churchyards sleep those whose blood runs in my own veins.

For a thousand years the progress and advancement of this great city have kept time with the march of civilisation across the centuries. It has long been a great

imperial city, and it is not amiss to allude for a moment to the causes which have brought this about. While it may not be fitting that one of our kindred should speak of the British people as a great race, nevertheless, I may at least say that it has wrought great things. And the greatest of all its achievements is the upbuilding of an empire sustained by ties such as those which unite ours. In the beginning the founding of a nation within these islands and the consequent necessity of orderly government compelled a system autocratic in its character and methods. Then came the great charters of freedom and the will of the people to make their own laws and govern themselves. Orderly government on the one hand ; individual liberty on the other ; justice, the equality of all men before the law—upon these secure foundations the fabric of the national life was built ; and in these later years there has come the not less noble ideal of a democracy founded upon equality of opportunity for all the people.

In the Dominions beyond the seas the same ideals have led inevitably to the establishment of self-governing institutions. That principle, which in the eyes of the short-

sighted seemed destined to drive the far-flung nations of our empire asunder, has but united them by ties stronger than could be dreamed of under any system of autocratic government. For this I call to witness the events of the past twelve months. Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Canada—all these great free nations possessing full rights of self-government, enjoying parliamentary institutions, living by the voice of the people—why have they joined in this conflict, and why are their citizens from the remotest corners of the earth fighting under a common banner and making common cause with the men of these islands in the greatest war the world has ever known? And why are the descendants in Canada of those who fought under Wolfe, and of those who fought under Montcalm, when contending for the possession of the northern half of the American continent, why are they now standing together in the empire's battle line? To speak of later events, why do we find beyond the Channel, in France or in Belgium, the grandson of a Durham and the grandson of a Papineau standing side by side in this struggle? When the historian of the future comes to analyse the events of this war, he will realise

that some great overmastering impulse contributed mainly to this wonderful result. One such impulse is to be found in the love of liberty, the ideals of democracy, and the spirit of unity founded thereon, which make the whole empire one in aim and purpose. But there was also the intense conviction that this war was forced upon our empire ; for in honour we could not stand aside and see trampled in the dust a weak and unoffending people whose independence and liberties we had guaranteed. Beyond and above all this we realised the supreme truth that the issue forced upon us by this conflict transcends even the destinies of our own empire and involves the future of civilisation and of the world.

I have spoken of the march of civilisation since the spot where this imperial city of London stands first had a name. Slowly and painfully, even within these islands, the lesson was learned of equal liberty and equal justice for the people ; but that lesson was well learned, and it has carried throughout the world an influence the greatness of which cannot be denied. The empires of bygone days have passed away because they were established on no such sure foundation. The greatest test to which modern democracy has

ever been subjected now confronts us ; and it remains to be seen whether the love of individual liberty, which is closely interwoven with our national ideal, carries with it so strong a sense of the duty of service to the State as will enable us to withstand the onslaught of the most highly organised and formidable military autocracy ever known. The events in which we move are so great that we, moving among them, can hardly comprehend or realise their magnitude ; but it must be apparent to all thoughtful men that the civilisation and the institutions which have been slowly and laboriously built up with toil and with blood for a thousand years hang in the balance to-day, and that we are called upon to face the ultimate test of national existence. The issue is really between two ideals, two systems of government. Let us realise that the resources of our empire are infinitely greater than those of Germany ; the population of the British Islands and the four Dominions alone is almost as great. Confession of failure in this war, or even serious doubt as to its issue, denies the capacity of the British people to govern themselves and may herald the downfall of democratic institutions.

This war is not as those of a century or two centuries ago. Then armies contended ; to-day the whole manhood of each nation is thrown into the struggle. During the past week I have visited France, and that visit was the most interesting and inspiring event of my life. I saw a whole nation in arms ; and yet the entire country even up to the line of the trenches was covered with a bountiful harvest. With the manhood of the nation at the front the soil was prepared, the seed was sown, and the harvest is now being reaped, chiefly by the labour of the old men, the women, and the children. It would be impossible to describe too vividly to you the intense impression made upon me by the courage, the patience, the seriousness, and the self-control of the French nation. No people so inspired can ever perish or be subdued. We are proud to remember that this great allied nation is of our own kin, because you in the British Isles look back to Celtic and Norman as well as Saxon ancestors ; and if this be true of you it is still more true of us in Canada.

During my sojourn here and my recent visit to France many men have spoken to me with warmest appreciation of the Cana-

dian troops at the front. I am very proud indeed that they have proved themselves worthy of the highest traditions of the great races from which they sprang. Canada is not a military nation, but Canadians have not lost the fighting spirit of their ancestors. While in France I watched the eager intent faces of 10,000 Canadians to whom I spoke within sound and range of the German guns. Three days ago I looked into the clear undaunted eyes of a thousand convalescent Canadians returned from the valley of the shadow of death. In the eyes and in the faces of these men I read only one message—that of resolute and unflinching determination to make our cause triumphant, to preserve our institutions and our liberties, to maintain the unity of our empire, and to perpetuate its influence through the world. The same message I bring to you also from the great Dominion which has sent these men across the seas.

While the awful shadow of this war overhangs our empire I shall not pause to speak of what may be evolved in its constitutional relations. Upon what has been built in the past an even greater structure will doubtless arise in the future. Those who are to be

its architects will have a great part to play and I do not doubt that they will play it worthily. The structure must embody not only the autonomous government of each inter-imperial nation but the majesty and power of an empire, united by ties such as those of which I have spoken, yet organised more efficiently and thoroughly for the preservation of its very existence. To those who shall be called upon to design and to erect so magnificent a monument, crowning the labours of the past and realising the hopes of the future, let us all bid God Speed in their great task. (7)

CHAPTER XVI

THE PROBLEM OF THE COMMONWEALTH

IN the early days of the war, a letter from Sir Charles Tupper contained this pregnant sentence : " The consolidation of the British Empire is already accomplished." Step by step during the past hundred years the development of self-government has proceeded in the Overseas Dominions. The enjoyment of these powers has not weakened, but rather strengthened, the bonds which hold together the empire. In one respect only the evolution has not attained its full development. The citizens of the self-governing Dominions do not directly participate through their Ministers or through their Parliament in the councils of the empire which determine the issues of peace and war. It would be rash to predict the method by which that great problem will be solved ; but of this I am convinced, that the events of

this war will powerfully assist in hastening its wise solution. (3)

* * *

The student of government finds in the organisation of the British Empire an astonishing confusion of varied systems. To govern such an empire at all is as great an undertaking as history has ever known. In administering the affairs of your great Republic vast and complex problems continually make themselves manifest. May I ask a moment's consideration of those involved in the governance of the British Dominions. A territory more than three times greater than that of the United States, scattered over all the continents and through all the oceans; a total population four times greater than yours; a white population little more than one-half your own, of which three-fourths reside within the relatively inconsiderable area of the British Islands; an almost infinite variety and divergence of race and creed; discordant ideals and social conditions; conflicting economic interests; four self-governing nations, one in the northern and three in the southern hemisphere, all rapidly developing in power and influence; a great dependency with a population of

300,000,000 embracing a dozen races with bewildering differences of creed, caste, tradition, custom and language; protectorates imposing responsibility for the development of great territories and the protection and welfare of large populations; a score of fiscal systems under which each unit of the empire levies customs duties against the remainder; the safeguarding of territories which in some part of the world touch those of every other great Power; the securing of the ocean pathways without which necessary inter-communication could not be assured; the necessity of considering all these heterogeneous and sometimes conflicting interests and conditions in determining questions touching foreign relations; a varied and seemingly confused medley of statutes, charters, orders in council, conventions, traditions and understandings for the governance of all these widespread possessions—consider this very imperfect summary of the conditions and problems which confront those called upon to administer the affairs of our vast Commonwealth. A hasty judgment would determine that any structure so apparently unstable must crumble at the first great shock.

It shall be to the honour of the British race

as long as this war is remembered that the principle upon which is founded the governance of our empire bound together all its far-flung Dominions and all its people of varied and divergent race, language, creed and ideal, by ties which proved even stronger in war than in peace. It is founded upon the principle of liberty, and upon the theory and practice of autonomous government, applied wherever conditions permit and to the most generous extent that experience can possibly sanction. For this supreme reason the empire is strong in the day of trial. (13)

* * *

Our self-governing Dominions are united by the ties of a common allegiance to the Crown; but the Crown has become the symbol of the people's sovereignty. According to our conception and practice of government, the King reigns to execute the will of the people who rule. The strength of the empire rests upon the eternal foundation of liberty expressed in the ideal and consummation of autonomous self-government which is vested in the people of the self-governing Dominions as of right and not of grace. The spirit of Prussian absolutism dominating the people of the German Empire regards any

such form of government as weak and ineffective. They conceive that it represents only a passing phase and that the German theory of absolutism cannot fail to impress itself upon the whole world in due course. So that this struggle involves issues which transcend even the interests and the future of our own empire and which embrace the whole theory and practice of government for all the future generations of the world. If the militarist and autocratic ideals of the Prussian oligarchy can assert themselves in world-wide dominance, the progress and development of democracy will either have been stayed for ever or the work of centuries will have been undone, and mankind must struggle anew for ideals of freedom and rights of self-government which have been established as the birthright of the British people. Thus the powers of democracy are themselves on trial to-day, and the issue of this conflict concerns not only the existence of the British Empire, but all the world-wide aspirations that have found expression in the freedom which its people enjoy.

In so far as this empire may be said to possess a constitution, it is of modern growth and is still in the stage of development. One can hardly conceive that it will ever dis-

tinctly emerge from that stage or attain a status in which constitutional development is no longer to be anticipated. Indeed, the genius of the British people and all our past history lead us to believe the contrary. The steps in advance have been usually gradual and always practical; and they have been taken rather by instinct than upon any carefully considered theory. But the very liberties of the empire made possible results which no absolutism could foresee. Thus the unity of purpose inspiring the British Dominions and their participation in this war upon so vast a scale has amazed the Prussian warlords. Also it has shattered their confident belief that the military resources of those Dominions were entirely negligible. There are those within sound of my voice who will see the Overseas Dominions surpass in wealth and population the British Islands; there are children playing in your streets who may see Canada alone attain that eminence. Thus it is impossible to believe that the existing status, so far as it concerns the control of foreign policy and extra-imperial relations, can remain as it is to-day. (5)

* * *

There may come a day when we must

consider some means of even more effective organisation for intercourse, for defence, and for the determination of foreign relations. To those who may sincerely believe that such a task is both impracticable and impossible the example of those who founded the Canadian Confederation may be commended. If ever a task seemed at the time impossible and hopeless it was theirs. Yet no one to-day could deny the remarkable success with which the difficulties have been met and surmounted. Remember that we have in Canada a sparse population of 8,000,000 scattered over a territory reaching from east to west little short of 4,000 miles ; consider the diversities of race and of creed and the seeming divergence of interest between different communities ; and we realise how wonderfully and how splendidly the Canadian national spirit has asserted itself in this great test of our nationhood. With this impressive lesson before our eyes, can it be doubted that the difficulties which seem to stand in the way of better organisation of the empire for purposes to which I have alluded can be overcome by wise counsel and earnest co-operation of the empire's statesmen ? (9)

CHAPTER XVII

CONTROL OF FOREIGN POLICY

[*Unanimous resolution of the Imperial War Conference, April 16, 1917.*—"The Imperial War Conference are of opinion that the readjustment of the constitutional relations of the component parts of the empire is too important and intricate a subject to be dealt with during the war, and that it should form the subject of a special Imperial Conference to be summoned as soon as possible after the cessation of hostilities. They deem it their duty, however, to place on record their view that any such readjustment, while thoroughly preserving all existing powers of self-government and complete control of domestic affairs, should be based upon a full recognition of the Dominions as autonomous nations of an Imperial Commonwealth, and of India as an important portion of the same, should recognise the right of the Dominions and India to an adequate voice in foreign policy and in foreign relations, and should provide effective arrangements for continuous consultation in all important matters of

common Imperial concern, and for such necessary concerted action, founded on consultation, as the several Governments may determine.”] (19)

* * *

The growth of the Dominions in wealth and population has been very remarkable during the past fifty years, especially during the last twenty-five years. Their future growth we hope—and, more than that, we believe—will be even more marked. Foreign policy and foreign relations, with which is intimately connected the question of the common defence of the empire, have been under the immediate control of the Government of the United Kingdom, responsible to the Parliament of the United Kingdom. It would appear from the views of constitutional writers that this condition during the later phases of the growth of the Overseas Dominions has proceeded on a theory of trusteeship which, whatever may be said of it in the past, is certain to prove not only entirely inadequate to the needs of the empire but incompatible with the aspirations of the people of the Dominions in the future. I have spoken of the growth of the Dominions ; it is by no means improbable that children

now living will see their population surpass that of the United Kingdom. It is quite within the range of possibility that a single Dominion might grow to the extent which I have mentioned. Therefore it seems to me beyond question that the theory of trusteeship to which I have alluded cannot be continued indefinitely in the future.

In approaching the subject one is impressed especially with this consideration, that the greatest intellects of the empire in the past have miscalculated the conditions that would develop in the Dominions, and have failed to foresee the relations of the empire under the policy of developing full powers of self-government which was supposed to have the tendency of weakening, if not severing, the ties which unite the Dominions to the mother country. The policy of complete control in domestic affairs and complete autonomy in all local affairs, instead of weakening the ties which unite the empire, has very greatly strengthened them. It was said by a statesman of the highest capacity after that policy had been embarked upon (that is the policy of granting to the Dominions complete autonomy) that it was an absolute mistake, that it could only lead to

the weakening and severance of relations, and that it would have been a wise policy to preserve in the United Kingdom control of the natural resources of the Dominions, and control over their fiscal policy; that this would have tended to unite the empire, and regret was expressed that some such policy had not been maintained. All of us in the Dominions, and I think the people of the British Isles, realise now that any such policy would have had most unfortunate and, more than that, disastrous results. The policy which was supposed to weaken the empire has really strengthened it, and I look forward to a development in the future along the line of an increasingly equal status between the Dominions and the mother country. It seems to me that the attainment of full citizenship, which involves a voice in foreign relations, will proceed along the line to which I have alluded. The nations of the empire are really bound together by the tie of a common allegiance, by like institutions and ideals of democracy, and by like purposes. Such ties will bring the nations of the empire together more closely upon the line which I have mentioned. I say this with a full understanding

that it is unwise, having regard to the lessons of the past, for any of us to predict absolutely the developments of the future. But, nevertheless, the line of development which has been noticeable during the past twenty or twenty-five years seems to point unmistakably to that conclusion. Indeed, the action of the Dominions in this war has made the spirit of nationhood splendidly manifest. The fact that 1,000,000 men in the Dominions have taken up arms for the defence of the empire's existence and the maintenance of its future influence is so significant a lesson that one would be unwise not to have it constantly in mind. I believe that the Dominions fully realise the ideal of an Imperial Commonwealth of United Nations, and one should not forget the importance of the Crown as a tie between the Dominions and the mother country. His Majesty King George V. is especially associated with the Overseas Dominions, because he is the first Sovereign who, before he ascended the Throne, availed himself of the opportunity to visit all parts of the empire and to make himself acquainted with the ideals and aspirations of their people. And the Queen was recognised throughout the Dominions of the

empire as distinctively a British princess before her marriage to the King. (19)

* * *

I entirely agree that the step recently taken [the summoning of Overseas Ministers to the Imperial War Cabinet] is a very important advance, because there is but one Crown, but there are many nations within the empire, and the Crown in its relation to any Dominion acts upon the advice of the duly constituted Government or Cabinet of that Dominion. The Crown at present acts upon the advice of a Cabinet in all Imperial matters, which includes not only Ministers responsible to the British Parliament but also those responsible to the Parliaments and Governments of the respective Dominions so far as they are represented here. The conventions of the Constitution are really its foundation; where there are no written Constitutions, almost everything depends on convention. The great influence of conventions, upon even a written Constitution, may be observed from what has taken place in the United States, where the original terms of their Constitution have been modified by convention in the most remarkable manner and in more than one respect. So

I attach importance to the beginning of what may become an established convention in the government of this empire. I also entirely agree with what has been said as to the importance of the principle we are affirming in this resolution. I do regard it as a very important advance. I agree thoroughly also that the British democracy to-day is as advanced and progressive and perfect a democracy as can be found anywhere in the world. By "British democracy" I mean the system of government which prevails in the United Kingdom and in the self-governing Dominions. In that system the King is the head of no party, but he is the head of the united democracies of the empire.

I entirely agree with General Smuts that, according to the form of the Constitution at present, the conditions are as he suggests. It is to be observed, however, that constitutional writers draw a sharp distinction between legal power and constitutional right. The British Parliament has technically the legal power to repeal the British North America Act—taking our Dominion as an illustration. But there is no constitutional right to do so without our assent, and there-

fore, while there is the theory of predominance, there is not the constitutional right of predominance in practice, even at present. Questions, however, do arise with regard to it from time to time. We have had, even since the war began, a question as to the exercise of the prerogative, and a question as to the advice upon which the prerogative under certain conditions shall be exercised—upon the advice of the Government of the United Kingdom, or upon the advice of the Government of Canada. Doubtless, under present conditions, questions of that kind are occasionally arising, but upon the basis which is established by this Resolution they are less likely to arise in the future. I am very glad that the Resolution has commended itself to the members of the Conference, and I earnestly hope that the result of the Conference which is to be summoned will be all that we can hope. (19)

CHAPTER XVIII

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE IMPERIAL WAR CABINET

THE British Constitution is the most flexible instrument of government ever devised. It is surrounded by certain statutory limitations, but they are not of a character to prevent the remarkable development to which I shall allude. The office of Prime Minister, thoroughly recognised by the gradually developed conventions of the Constitution, although entirely unknown to the formal enactments of the law, is invested with a power and authority which under new conditions, demanding progress and development, are of inestimable advantage. The recent exercise of that great authority has brought about an advance which may contain the germ and define the method of constitutional development in the immediate future. It is only within the past few days that the full

measure of that advance has been consummated. (21)

* * *

On December 20, 1916, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom summoned the Prime Ministers of the Overseas Dominions to meet in London with the members of the British Cabinet in conference.

The proposed gathering was designated as the Imperial War Conference. The purposes of the meeting, as detailed in the telegram which was received, were to take counsel with each other :

First, as to matters connected with the prosecution of the war.

Second, as to the terms upon which peace should be made.

Third, as to the problems which would arise immediately after the conclusion of peace.

The first meeting of the Imperial War Cabinet was held on Tuesday, March 20, and the first meeting of the Imperial War Conference was held on Wednesday, March 21.

Six meetings were held in each week, three of the Imperial War Cabinet and three of the Imperial War Conference, and this continued

until our visit was concluded, except for a short recess at Easter.

I am not confident that at the very initiation of the idea it was intended to hold an Imperial War Conference as well as an Imperial War Cabinet, but after the proposal for holding an Imperial War Cabinet had been launched, it became obvious that there were certain matters not so directly connected with war as those which should come before the Imperial War Cabinet, and which might with advantage be discussed in conference between representatives of the United Kingdom and the representatives of the Overseas Dominions and of India.

The genesis of the Imperial War Cabinet is to be found in the events of this war. Every one has realised the somewhat anomalous position of the empire in respect of questions which concern foreign policy and foreign relations. It is abundantly clear that it is those questions in which are involved the issues of peace and war, and it is equally clear that in the event of a great war threatening in any way the existence of our empire or its interests, the self-governing Dominions are at war when the Mother Country is at war and must inevitably take their part, and

therefore they are concerned with the causes out of which war may arise.

If we may take an example in the events which have been transpiring during the past two years, we observe that some, at least, of the causes out of which this war sprang arose before this Dominion had an existence. We observe further that some, at least, of the causes for which our empire took up arms were concerned with treaties and understandings in which the Overseas Dominions of this empire had no voice and no part.

We are concerned in this war in Canada, and in the other Overseas Dominions, because we realised that the cause for which it is being fought is one that transcends all others within our experience, and that concerns the future of every Dominion of the empire, the future of the United Kingdom, the future of the empire as a whole, and, more than that, the future of the world.

And so, without any hesitation whatever, every self-governing Dominion of the empire took up arms, and India as well, and their participation has been whole-hearted. (21)

* * *

In taking the course he took, Mr. Lloyd George absolutely disregarded precedents.

As he himself said most eloquently in his address at the Guildhall: "This is not a time in which there are the conditions before us such as would justify a too rigid adherence to precedent, or even to tradition."

It is a remarkable fact in our constitution and history that constitutional development has need to depend more upon events than upon men. The very nature of events arising out of the war make it absolutely necessary that the Overseas Dominions should have a voice, and having that voice it was natural, and more than that, necessary, that they should be assembled in an Imperial War Cabinet.

It was a remarkable body that was gathered together, representatives of the Governments of the United Kingdom, the Cabinet of the United Kingdom—five men, who constituted the Cabinet of the United Kingdom, and who called into counsel with them the other members of the British Government whenever it was necessary.

These five men, with representatives of India and of all other Overseas Dominions, together met in council for the purpose of dealing with matters of common concern touching the whole empire. Now, while we

were in London, and in the very early days of the sessions of the War Cabinet, a remarkable further development took place.

It also arose out of the necessity imposed by events, and I am thoroughly confident that it was not premeditated or designed when the Imperial War Cabinet was first summoned.

The Crown acts in all the self-governing Dominions of the empire. It acts in the United Kingdom upon the advice of the Ministers of the United Kingdom ; it acts in each of the Overseas Dominions upon the advice of the appropriate Minister in Federal affairs upon the advice of Federal Ministers, and in Provincial and State affairs upon the advice of Provincial or State Ministers. It is the same Crown throughout, acting upon the advice of different Ministers. That tie of allegiance to the Crown is the tie which chiefly binds together the empire to-day so far as constitutional considerations are concerned. (21)

* * *

For the first time in the empire's history (April 1917) there have been sitting in London two Cabinets, both properly constituted and both exercising well-defined

powers. Over each of them the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom presides. One of them is designated as the "War Cabinet," which chiefly devotes itself to such questions touching the prosecution of the war as primarily concern the United Kingdom. The other is designated as the "Imperial War Cabinet," which has a wider purpose, jurisdiction and *personnel*. To its deliberations have been summoned representatives of all the empire's self-governing Dominions. We meet there on terms of equality under the presidency of the First Minister of the United Kingdom; we meet there as equals, although Great Britain presides, *primus inter pares*. Ministers from six nations sit around the council board, all of them responsible to their respective Parliaments and to the people of the countries which they represent. Each nation has its voice upon questions of common concern and highest importance as the deliberations proceed; each preserves unimpaired its perfect autonomy, its self-government, and the responsibility of its Ministers to their own electorate. For many years the thought of statesmen and students in every part of the empire has centred around the question of

future constitutional relations ; it may be that now, as in the past, the necessity imposed by great events has given the answer.

The Imperial War Cabinet as constituted to-day has been summoned for definite and specific purposes, publicly stated, which involve questions of the most vital concern to the whole empire. With the constitution of that Cabinet a new era has dawned and a new page of history has been written. (16)

* * *

The importance of the step which has been taken has hardly been realised. For the first time in our history representatives of all the self-governing nations of the empire have sat around a common council board for the purpose of tendering advice to the Crown upon matters of common Imperial concern. That such a development has been possible is due to three main considerations :

1. The stress of great events which has brushed aside precedent ;

2. The flexibility of the British Constitution and the British practical instinct for meeting the need as it arises ; and

3. The great power and authority with which the office of Prime Minister is invested under conventions of the British Constitution.

It would be rash to prophesy that this notable event will furnish a sure guide for future constitutional development and readjustment. It is not too much to believe that it points to a path which presents much less difficulty than many others that have been suggested.

Necessity rather than foresight or design has been responsible for many remarkable constitutional developments. That truth was never more strikingly illustrated than now. Beside the Imperial War Cabinet, advising the Crown in matters of common Imperial concern, the British War Cabinet has been discharging separately its distinctive functions in matters especially relating to the participation of the United Kingdom in the war. This came to pass because it was manifestly necessary; events made it inevitable. It has been already announced that the advance thus made will be continued, and one cannot doubt that the usage will develop into an established convention. All this is, of course, subject to the conclusions that may be reached by the special Conference to consider constitutional readjustment which is to be summoned immediately after the war.

The deliberations of the Imperial War

Cabinet are necessarily secret for the present, but it will be realised that they have related to questions of supreme importance touching the prosecution of the war, the terms upon which peace may be consented to, and the difficult period of readjustment that will come thereafter. These questions have been examined with great care both in the Cabinet itself and in sub-committees appointed for the purpose.

Many of the conclusions reached in the Imperial War Conference have already been made public. They also relate to matters of grave concern to the whole Imperial Commonwealth. Among them I lay emphasis upon those which touch constitutional relations ; the control, conservation and use of our abundant and varied natural resources ; specially favourable treatment to the empire's products ; the improvement of facilities of transportation and communication ; and, last but not least, co-operation for the derence of our institutions, our liberties and our heritage. We return to Canada with a more thorough conception of the vast and complex questions which have been under consideration, and with a renewed determination to do our part in assuring the

triumph of the world's free democracies over the tremendous forces arrayed against them. (20)

* * *

It is not for me to prophesy as to the future significance of these pregnant events ; but those who have given thought and energy to every effort for full constitutional development of the oversea nations may be pardoned for believing that they discern therein the birth of a new and greater Imperial Commonwealth. (16)

CHAPTER XIX

THE NEW STATUS OF THE DOMINIONS

AT the very last meeting of the Imperial War Cabinet (April 27, 1917) a definite offer was made to the Overseas Dominions that this experiment (of the Imperial War Cabinet) should develop into a usage and into a convention; that annually at least, and if necessity should arise, oftener, there should assemble in London an Imperial War Cabinet, which should deal with matters of common concern to the empire as distinguished from those which chiefly concern the United Kingdom or any of the Overseas Dominions or India.

It is perfectly obvious that a proposal of that kind cannot be carried out with a large Cabinet to which Great Britain may revert after this war is over. It is idle to speculate as to whether the present system of a very small number of men in the Cabinet will continue; I should think it likely that it should

not continue. Therefore, the future of this proposal will be a Cabinet of Governments rather than of Ministers ; a Cabinet in which the Government of the United Kingdom, the Governments of the Overseas Dominions and the Government and people of India will be represented.

I have no doubt whatever, having regard to the view which is entertained by the present Prime Minister of the United Kingdom (Mr. Lloyd George) and his colleagues, the proposal will carry with it much of advantage to the Overseas Dominions. I say that for this reason : it is not proposed that the Government of the United Kingdom in foreign affairs shall act first and consult us afterwards.

The principle has been definitely and finally laid down that in these matters the Overseas Dominions shall be consulted before the Empire is committed to any proposal of foreign policy which might involve the issues of peace or war.

The language in which the Prime Minister of Great Britain conveyed that proposal to the Ministers from the Overseas Dominions made that abundantly clear.

So that as I understand the proposal—and I think I understand it correctly—it is that

the British Cabinet shall continue to discharge its functions in respect to all matters relating to the United Kingdom, but that there shall be in addition to that an Imperial Cabinet, in which not only the United Kingdom, but all the Overseas Dominions shall be represented by their Governments.

The representatives of the United Kingdom will consist of the Prime Minister, the Foreign Secretary, the Secretary of State for India, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, very probably the Secretary of State for War, and the First Lord of the Admiralty.

The representatives of the Overseas Dominions shall be their Prime Ministers, or if the Prime Minister is unable to attend, some Minister of first rank must act in his place, who, for the time being, shall possess the authority and exercise the functions of the Prime Minister for that purpose.

It is idle to have an Imperial Cabinet unless those who assemble around the council board are possessed of the authority for the time being to carry out the proposals which may be agreed to. It may be said in criticism of this proposal that what the Prime Minister of one of the Overseas Dominions might agree to there, he could not afterwards carry out,

because the assent of Parliament would not be given. That criticism, however, is equally applicable to any policy that a Government might bring down ; therefore it does not seem to me to constitute any grave objection to the proposal which has been outlined by Mr. Lloyd George.

We all know that the question of future constitutional relations of the empire have been a matter of much discussion in Parliaments, in the Press and by constitutional writers and others. We also know that men who have given thoughtful and careful study to the subject have been much perplexed at what those future relations might be.

We have on the one hand self-government enjoyed by each of the Overseas Dominions ; we have that autonomy of which they are rightly jealous. We have, on the other hand, the necessity of consultation and co-operation ; and how to reconcile the aspirations of the Overseas Dominions on the one side or on the other, to bring about unity and concentration of purpose in great matters of public concern and at the same time to safeguard the rights of self-government which the Overseas Dominions at present enjoy, has been a matter

involved in a great deal of difficulty and complexity.

It seems to me that many of the difficulties are likely to be cleared away by the proposal of Mr. Lloyd George. I do not pretend to prophesy that that will be the ultimate form in which the consultation and co-operation will be brought about. It would be idle to pass any conjecture on that subject ; so many prophecies have failed of fulfilment in this regard that one is naturally unwilling to commit himself to any prophecy on the subject. But this at least may be said of Mr. Lloyd George's proposal : it does not sacrifice in the slightest degree the autonomy or the power of self-government which is possessed by every one of the Overseas Dominions.

The Ministers from overseas go there as the heads of their Governments. They are responsible to their own Parliaments. The Prime Minister of the United Kingdom goes there responsible also to his Parliament. They go there as the representatives of independent Governments, each of them responsible to independent Parliaments. They meet there for the purpose of consultation, co-operation and united action, but that action can be taken only with the sanction and

authority of the representatives of the various nations of the empire assembled in their own Parliament.

Therefore, there is no sacrifice of any existing power of self-government. There is on the other hand, the opportunity for consultation, co-operation and united action, which I venture to think will prove of great advantage to the empire as a whole.

The deliberations of the Imperial War Cabinet were necessarily secret. They cover also every conceivable subject connected with the prosecution of the war, the terms of peace, and the problems to arise after the conclusion of the war.

I was greatly impressed with the enormous variety and vast complexity of the problems that have to be taken into consideration by the British Government from day to day. I made it my business, when I first went to London, to go to the offices of the British War Cabinet for the purpose of examining the correspondence just for a single day.

Even before we arrived in London, all precedents had been cast aside in the methods of the British War Cabinet. When, in 1912, I sat for the first time in the British Cabinet, it was an unwritten law that no record should

be made of its proceedings, and that no member of the Cabinet should be allowed to make any note as to the conclusions arrived at.

In Great Britain, the Government is not carried on in the same way as it is carried on here. Our Cabinet is a cabinet of a Privy Council. Matters are dealt with in recorded form. We pass Orders-in-Council, sitting as a Cabinet ; sitting also as a meeting of the Privy Council. The meetings of the Privy Council in Great Britain are formal affairs and the meetings of the Cabinet are absolutely apart and distinct from the formal meetings of the Privy Council, in which no debate takes place and in which the proposals placed before the Privy Council are accepted as a matter of course.

The British War Cabinet, as constituted when we arrived in Great Britain, kept a complete record of its proceedings ; it had half a dozen secretaries at least. Resolutions were passed and conclusions were recorded in writing. All the precedents of the past had been put to one side, and an entirely new method of operation was carried on and the records of the Government were kept in the offices of the War Cabinet.

When I examined the correspondence of

the War Cabinet, I suppose there were at least 200 telegrams dealing with every conceivable subject, with matters arising in almost every country, neutral, allied or enemy, in the world. There were problems in South Africa to be taken up, problems in Sweden or Denmark or China—from every country in the world there pours in from day to day correspondence regarding matters requiring the attention, not only of the Foreign Office, but of almost every department of the British Government. I am bound to confess that, speaking for myself, my visit to London gave me a wider and clearer view of the tremendous problem imposed upon the British Government in this war than I could otherwise possibly have obtained. (21)

* * *

There have been proposals put forward for an Imperial Parliament which should have taxing powers for certain purposes over all the Overseas Dominions as well as over the United Kingdom.

As far as I am concerned, and I think the other members of the Conference thoroughly concurred in this view, I think that proposal neither feasible nor wise. I venture to think that the Overseas Dominions of the empire

have done more for the common cause that we all have at heart in this war, than could have been accomplished by any Imperial Parliament possessing the powers to which I have alluded.

And I think that the best guarantee that the Overseas Dominions are prepared to do for a great common purpose in the future is the record of what they have done during the past three years. (21)

CHAPTER XX

HOPES FOR THE FUTURE

AMID all the horror and welter of this world-wide conflict we may yet discern hope for the future. It will arouse, I hope, the conscience of all the nations to bring about concerted action for the reduction of armaments and for the placing of the whole world upon what one might term a peace footing. Upon this continent there is a boundary line of nearly 4,000 miles between this country and the great kindred nation to the south. That boundary is unguarded and unfortified as between the two nations, and we sleep securely without thought of war or invasion. (4)

* * *

And since this struggle began, one cannot but perceive an awakened national spirit and consciousness in this Dominion of Canada. In

a young and rapidly developing country such as this, the aspirations of material prosperity are bound to impose themselves very strongly upon the imagination. To those who held aloft the lamp of idealism it sometimes seemed that the clamour of the market place, the din of the factory, and the rush of the locomotive had absorbed the minds of the people. But when the day came which searched their spirit, Canadians did not fail to remember that there is something greater than material prosperity, and something greater than even life itself. The wonderful and beautiful spirit of mutual helpfulness, of desire to aid, the spirit of self-sacrifice, of patriotism, of devotion, which in these latter months has inspired the Canadian people from ocean to ocean will leave an enduring mark upon our national life. It has dissolved prejudice and curbed discord and dissension. And who of you will not do reverence to the courage, the devotion and the patriotism of the women of Canada; those who with undaunted hearts but tear-dimmed eyes have seen husband, son or brother go forth to battle; those who in a thousand missions of aid and of mercy are unwearying in their infinite labours of love? Who of you will

not say with me, God bless the women of Canada! (4)

* * *

And so I come back to you from the men at the Front, from the French people, from the British people, with a message not only of determination, but of confidence. One cannot tell what in the final sifting may come from this war. The events through which we are moving are so wonderful, so tremendous, so world-compelling, that we can hardly realise their significance. One of my colleagues said to me a year ago that this war seemed to him as the suicide of civilisation. Let us hope rather that it may prove to be the death of much that marred and hindered the progress and development of civilisation and democracy. Shall we not hope, and indeed believe, that this war may prove to be the birth-pang attending the nativity of a truer and nobler civilisation, in which this country, as one of the great free nations of the empire, will have no inconsiderable place and play no unworthy part? (10)

* * *

Last night I walked down the Embankment. At my right was the great Abbey, at

my left the great Cathedral, at my feet flowed the historic river. Here came in by-gone centuries the Celt, the Saxon, the Dane, the Norman. Each in turn, all finally in co-operation, have lent their influence and made their contribution to our national life. And how splendid a structure they have built! What a mighty influence for good it has carried throughout the world! Standing thus on what seems to us hallowed ground, we of the Oversea Dominions meditate perhaps more than you do upon these wonderful memories of the past and all the glorious events through which the life of our empire has moved. Let us never for one moment forget that of all the mighty events recorded in its history none were greater than those through which we are passing to-day. Is an Empire like ours worth living for? Yes—and worth dying for. And it is something greater than it was a year ago. Indeed, it never can be quite the same. The old order has in some measure passed away. Once for all it has been borne in upon the hearts and souls of all of us that the great policies which touch and control the issues of peace and war concern more than the peoples of these islands. God grant that we shall so

bear ourselves in this war and be so guided in all the momentous results to which it must lead that, whether in these islands or in the oversea nations, citizenship of our empire shall be a still greater and nobler possession in the years to come than it has ever been even in all our glorious past. (8)

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